CIIL - Sociolinguistics Series - 4

CONVERGENCE AND LANGUAGE SHIFT IN A LINGUISTIC MINORITY

A sociolinguistic study of Tamils in Bangalore city

SAM MOHAN LAL

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES
MYSORE-570006

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[A Sociolinguistic Study of Tamils in Bangalore City]

SAM MOHAN LAL

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES
MANASAGANGOTRI, MYSORE 570 006

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FOREWORD

Contrary to the belief that predominantly agricultural India was a Static Society before the modern times, India has always been in ferment because of dynamic encounter of people speaking different languages, belonging to different ethnicities and practising different religions. Respect for the different permitted each group to retain its cultural distinctiveness and yet establish linkages either by being bilingual developing a pidgin or adopting a language of wider communication. In all cases languages in contact had to give up some of their angularities and adopt features of the other, leading to convergence which has resulted in India being considered a single linguistic area. It is therefore to be expected that Tamils living in Bangalore for several generations would speak a language which would show features of convergence with the State dominant language, Kannada. What is, however, interesting in the studies of Dr. Sam Mohan Lal and Dr. J. M. Bayer is the differing response of Iyengars and Mudaliars towards the majority state language and English.

Both the studies also indicate that the reinforcement of Tamil is due to successive waves of migrants and cannot be attributed entirely to the retention of Tamil by the first settlers. If this study throws light on the process of integration, then the efforts of the Institute would have been rewarded. I congratulate Dr. Sam Mohan Lal and all those responsible for bringing out the monograph.

Debi Prasanna Pattanayak

D. P. Pattanayak

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Sam Mohan Lal

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INTRODUCTION

This book 'Convergence and Language Shift in a Linguistic Minority -- A Sociolinguistic Study of Tamils in Bangalore City' is intended to give an idea about the Tamil spoken by the Iyengars and Mudaliars whose mother tongue is Tamil. These people have migrated from Tamilnadu to Bangalore many generations ago. Owing to lesser use of their mother tongue in day-to-day interaction and also due to the pressure exerted by the dominant language of the area (Kannada), the Tamil spoken by these people has undergone considerable changes. The changes are observed in phonological, morphological and syntactic levels and the attested changes in their Tamil are shown to be due to the influence of Kannada.

This study consists of three parts. Part-I presents the salient features of Tamil spoken by the Iyengars. Part-II presents the coherent features of Tamil spoken by the Mudaliars, and Part-III presents a comparison of the two identifying the processes and variables of covergence and language shift. Though there are many Tamil speaking communities living in Bangalore, only these two communities are selected for this study because of the deviant linguistic behaviour of these

two communities.

Methods of study are described in the respective parts. In general the methods of data collection included the administration of questionnaires and direct interviews with the informants during which questions pertaining to language use were asked. As far as possible the informants were asked to converse in Tamil and the whole conversation was recorded. Family conversation in Tamil was encouraged and recorded.

There were two types of questionnaires administered, namely,

1) Words and sentence lists consisting of approximately 300 functional words and 500 sentences prepared in such a way as to cover almost all the grammatical categories.

2) Through guided narrations of incidents and socio-cultural events, etc., information regarding language use in different domains, were elicited.

Through the latter elicitation method, useful data could be collected because the informants engaged themselves in more natural conversations.

Following is the sample of the questionnaire administered for collecting the socio-cultural informations and also the language data.

1. Place of residence:

a) Rual [ ] (b) Urban [ ] (c) Semi-urban [ ]

2. Place of birth:

(a) Respondent : (c) Mother :

(b) Father : (d) Spouse :

3. Whether migrated:

Yes [ ] No [ ] Not known [ ]

4. If 'Yes', please state:

(a) Earlier place of residence :

(b) Year of migration :

(c) Purpose of migration :

5. Do you visit your native Place?

Frequently [ ] Occasionally [ ] Never [ ]

6. If 'Yes', please state the purposes:

(a) To look after the ancestral property :

(b) To visit relatives :

(c) Business :

(d) Any other reason :

7. Your neighbours are the speakers of:

(a) Your language

(b) Other languages :

8. What was the first language that you learned to speak:

9. If more than one, which do you consider to be your mother tongue:

10. Where did you acquire your mother tongue:

(a) At home :

(b) In the neighbourhood :

(c) School :

11. What other languages do you know:

Languages	Read	Write	Speak	Understand
(1)				
(2)				
(3)				
(4)				

[4] Convergence and Language Shift

12. How often do you speak in your mother tongue with the following?

	Most frequently	Frequently	Rarely	Never
(a) Grand-father				
(b) Grand-mother				
(c) Father				
(d) Mother				
(e) Spouse				
(f) Children				
(g) Grand-children				
(h) Sisters/Brothers				
(i) Servants				
(j) Neighbours				
(k) Relatives				
(l) Friends at home				
(m) Friends at school				
(n) Place of work				

13. Is the use of languages other than mother tongue increasing at home?

Yes [ ]   No [ ]

14. If 'Yes', which language(s):

15. Is your mother tongue taught/used in the schools/colleges :

	Lower primary	Primary	Middle	College
(a) As a subject				
(b) As medium of instruction				

16. Are those schools/colleges run by:

(a) Your own community :

(b) The Government :

(c) Any other :

17. If your mother tongue is not taught in the school, do you have any other arrangements to teach it?

    (a) At home by the parents :

    (b) In other institutions, teaching your language exclusively :

    (c) By engaging a tutor :

18. Is the script in which your language is written taught to your children?

19. If schools are opened for teaching your language, will you support it?

    (a) By sending your children :

    (b) By encouraging other members of your community :

    (c) By providing financial help :

    (d) By providing self-service :

20. Are there any newspapers/magazines in your language?

    Yes [ ]   No [ ]

21. If 'Yes', do you subscribe to it?

    (a) Dailies :

    (b) Weeklies :

    (c) Monthlies :

22. Who read these magazines/newspapers?

    (a) Grand-parents :

    (b) Parents :

    (c) Wife/Husband :

    (d) Neighbours :

    (e) Self :

    (f) Any other :

23. You do not subscribe because:

    (a) You do not know the script :

    (b) You cannot afford :

    (c) You are not interested :

[6] Convergence and Language Shift

24. If you do not subscribe, do you read them at:

(a) Community Hall :

(b) Library :

(c) Neighbour's house :

(d) Place of work :

25. Do you subscribe for the dailies/magazines coming out in other languages?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

26. If 'Yes', for which language paper/magazine?

BIO-DATA

1. Name of the respondent :
2. Age :
3. Sex :
4. Education :
5. Occupation :
6. Community :
7. Economic status :

OTHER OBSERVATIONS

1. Nature of contact:

(a) Duration of language contact :

(b) Intensity :

2. Language use:

(a) Use of L_1 and its domains :

(b) Use of L_2 and its domains :

3. Attitudes:

(a) Mutual attitudes of L_1 and L_2 groups - Positive and Negative :

(b) Attitude towards mixing :

(c) Attitude towards the usefulness of the contact language :

(i) Advantages for social mobility/economic improvement

(ii) Prestige: overt and covert

4. Convergence - Languages involved:

(a) Direction: Uni/bi-directional :

(b) Degree :

(c) Convergence over a particular span of period :

(i) Older generation

(ii) Younger generation

5. How frequently do you meet the speakers of other languages?

Languages	Very often	Daily	Monthly	Rarely	No contact
(a)					
(b)					
(c)					
(d)					
(e)					

6. Do you generally mix other languages *when you speak* your mother tongue?
If 'Yes', kindly tick among the following you mix.

(i) Only words [ ] (ii) Parts of sentences [ ]

7. Which languages do you like more among the languages in this place? Give *reasons:*

(a) Socio-cultural reasons :

(b) *Economical reasons* :

(c) Personal reasons :

(d) Any other reasons :

8. Do you think that learning the dominant language in the area is advantageous and *prestigious?*

Yes [ ] No [ ] No opinion [ ]

[8] Convergence and Language Shift

9. If 'Yes', give reasons.
Tick from among the following:

	Yes	No	No opinion
(a) It is the language spoken by the majority :	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
(b) It helps in having better job opportunities :	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
(c) It helps in performing the professional duties :	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
(d) Any other reasons :			

10. Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from the language spoken by your grand-parents?

Yes [ ]   No [ ]   No opinion [ ]

11. Can you narrate a small incident happened in your life?

12. Can you tell a small story in your mother tongue?

For each study 12 samples were collected, one each from 12 informants who were categorised under three variables, viz.,

(i) Period of stay,
(ii) Economic status, and
(iii) Education.

The informants were selected from different localities of Bangalore City covering both sporadic and concentrated localities of the communities under study.

The analysis of the data included the comparison of the data with the Tamilnadu Tamil phonological, morphological and lexical patterns. The innovative features, addition or reducation at different linguistic levels owing to the influence of the dominant language, were attested separately. Such features were compared with the informants coming under the other variables

in order to find out variation in usage.

In general, the following are the items covered:

1) Review of related studies
2) Locales of the present study
3) Sociolinguistic setting
4) Distribution and language use
5) History and migration of the communities
6) Sample of coverage
7) Data collection techniques utilised
8) Sampling technique and variables selected
9) Analytical technique and methodology
10) Convergent features in the phonological level
11) Convergent features in the morphological level
12) Comparison of the two communities as regards convergence and language shift prevalent in their use of Tamil

The third part of this book on comparison deals with the possible reasons for the disparity in language loyalty and attitude of the two communities towards their mother tongue and its use in various domains. It also discusses the nature of contact the communities keep with Tamilnadu and their reading habits of Tamil vis-a-vis the trends in convergence and language shift.

Problems faced in data collection are dealt with separately.

- - - -

TAMIL SPOKEN BY IYENGARS IN BANGALORE CITY

1.1. Related Studies

During the past few years much have been said about language contact and linguistic convergence. Language contact in a particular region may be due to many reasons, for example, trade, migration, social prestige, dominant Vs. minority languages, political superiority, etc. Also, the two languages in contact may be related languages genetically or unrelated languages. Gumperz (1971) explains of a multilingual setting in a village called Kupwar where the languages of a Dravidian family (Kannada and Telugu) and the members of the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European family (Marathi and Urdu) are in constant contact. He states that 'the Kupwar varieties have processes of reduction and convergence suggestive of pidginization and creolization'. Although the present situation might not have gone to the extent of pidginization and creolization, it can be undoubtably argued that a considerable amount of reducation at different levels to have taken place leading to grammatical, morphological, phonological and lexical assimilation from Kannada into Tamil. Weinreich (1953) states that

'language contact can result in such far reaching changes that the affected language assumes a different structural type'. Pandit (1972) has worked on Saurashtri spoken in Tamilnadu. He has pointed out some remarkable results causing language contact.

In this linguistic environment, the Tamil speaking minority is maintaining their language mainly at the family domain as well as in the place where the relatives gather. The subjects for the present study are totally not exposed to Tamil orthography and also lost contact with their counterparts in Tamilnadu with the result their knowledge of Tamil is restricted only to spoken and listening skills. Gumperz (1964) states "throughout India and other parts of Asia we find immigrant groups who maintain their linguistic identity for many centuries, even in relatively small communities". But, in this situation, though the linguistic identity is maintained to a certain extent, the length of stay and other socio-political factors have contributed much, as a result of which the linguistic identity as well as the language of the immigrant community (Iyengars) are in the process of losing.

1.2. Area of the Present Study

Bangalore, a cosmopolitan city is the capital of Karnataka State. The total population of Tamil speakers in the city is 5,28,284 according to the 1971 Census of India. Among the Tamil speakers, who are the largest minority represents 25.37%. The origin of this largest single Tamil speaking minority can

be traced to a broad region around Tamilnadu extending from the Tirunelveli district represents the South to the North Arcot of the northern district of Tamilnadu. Thus the present Iyengars settled in Bangalore have come from geographically contiguous areas of Tamilnadu. Though old Madras Presidency included South Kanara districts of Karnataka and Bellary and Kollegal Taluk of Mysore district, Bangalore was part of the princely state of Mysore. The period of migration, is not known. However, the existing written and oral literature prevailing amongst them can lead to the conclusion that they must have migrated from different parts of Tamilnadu during the period of Vijayanagara empire.

1.3. Language Situation in Bangalore City

In addition to Kannada which is the official state language of the area, many other languages, viz., Tamil, Malayalam, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, English, etc., are spoken in Bangalore depending upon the area and the linguistic group. Generally both official communication and interaction in the Government and private offices are effected either through the medium of Kannada or through the medium of English. But even in such places the choice of language for interaction cannot easily be determined because the language choice mainly depends on the linguistic competence of the speakers concerned. Though by and large both Kannada and English are used as public codes, it is not possible to ignore the use of other languages, such as Hindi.

Tamil, Urdu, etc. Among these three non-regional languages, Tamil is enjoying a special status owing to the availability of the number of native speakers in Bangalore. Outside the offices also the use of Tamil is predominantly observed in addition to Kannada. For example, in Cantonment area, Tamil is used quite frequently on par with Kannada. This may be due to the fact that Cantonment has more Tamil native speakers than any other part of the City. Most of the private advertisement boards are found carrying both Kannada and English though at times Tamil also is prevalent in advertisements. State Government Offices and other undertakings generally advertise only in Kannada, whereas the Central Government advertisements are generally exhibited both in Kannada and Hindi.

In this linguistic environment, the Tamil speaking Iyengars are maintaining their language (Tamil) mainly at the family domain as well as in the places where the relatives gather.

1.4. Distribution and Language Use

Iyengars are distributed almost in every corner of Bangalore City. But in places, like Malleswaram, the community under study is densely populated. In the newly formed extensions, like Jayanagar, etc., the population is sporadically distributed. Irrespective of the nature of their distribution, it is observed that the nature of contact and interaction among the community is very regular and in many of the family gatherings generally Tamil is used. As indicated

earlier, among the educated group both English and Tamil are used frequently. Apart from the fact that the community gathering is entertained thus creating an atmosphere to use Tamil, it is also observed that the opportunities for Iyengars as individuals to mingle with the non-Tamil speakers especially Kannada speaking majority are more. As the situation reveals clearly in this linguistic environment, the use of Tamil is restricted to very limited domains only. Though Tamil as a mother tongue is maintained by the Iyengars, due to socio-political reasons which are constantly pressing the minorities as well as the constant linguistic contact (Kannada) situation caused a remarkable change over the Tamil spoken by the group under study when compared to the Tamil spoken in Tamilnadu. In short, owing to the social heterogenity and exposure to outside linguistic influence, linguistic overlap is extensively found in the Tamil spoken by this group. Also, the reflections of many Kannada features are predominantly noticed in their Tamil speech. The extent of socio-linguistic codes used by the Tamil Iyengars in different sociolinguistic situations led to the extent of convergent features in Tamil spoken by them causing a 'partial shift'.

Depending upon the contextual constraints, varying speech behaviour is noticed among the speech of the Iyengars. For example, outside their house the usual interaction is maintained in Kannada. The children are taught in Kannada at school. None of the Iyengars

whom I have contacted irrespective (total 12 samples and checked with 15 individuals) of their socio-economic status, education, age and sex know Tamil to write and read, but still they speak.

1.5. Convergence and Language Shift

Convergence can be due to the contact between the languages from the same family or from the different families. Here as indicated earlier, Kannada and Tamil which belong to the 'Dravidian' family of languages are involved. Extensive bilingualism[1], urbanization, regional dominance and the socio-political factors are the main contributing factors for the linguistic convergence and shift. In this linguistic situation, the aspect of convergence is unidirectional. That is, the convergence is towards the direction of the dominant language of the area (Kannada).

Owing to the extent of language contact with respect to the period of stay and the extent of bilingualism prevailing in this sociolinguistic setting, the convergence that has taken place may be grouped into three broad linguistic levels, viz., phonological, lexical and grammatical.

In the case of the Bangalore Iyengar's Tamil (BIT), a type of unconscious language change[2] is experienced mainly owing to the loss of contact to the Tamil speaking community in Tamilnadu and also due to the non-exposure to the written language. In addition to the above mentioned two factors, it is also possible to say that the limited domains where Tamil is used

can also contribute to the phenomenon of language shift. At this juncture, a question may be asked that when Tamil has been maintained for centuries by the Iyengars, of course with convergent elements from Kannada, how it is possible to state that Tamil speakers are undergoing a partial shift only now? It may be argued that the present period is a transcient period of change. The prevailing linguistic situation is such that among most of the Tamilians even the linguistic identity is also being lost especially among the higher socio-economic strata. Also, it is observed that the younger generation is losing Tamil very fast. Many of them do not know even to speak. To a certain extent they have comprehension in Tamil. It is surprising to note that most of the Tamil Iyengars feel that they are more at ease in Kannada rather than in Tamil. During the parent children interaction, it is commonly observed that though the parents speak in Tamil to their wards, the latter in turn reply either in Kannada or in English. These are all the effective contributing tools for a total language shift in due course.

1.6. Sample or Coverage

For the present study on linguistic convergence and language shift total 12 samples which consist of three variables are taken into consideration. They are, length of stay, socio-economic status and education. Socio-economic status was divided into three categories, namely lower (income less than Rs.250/-), middle (income less than Rs.1,000/- and above Rs.500/-) and higher

strats (income above Rs.1,000/-. Data were collected from the Iyengars after knowing fully their period of stay in Bangalore. Minimum two generations of stay in Bangalore was considered for this stury. Education was grouped into two. That is education upto VII standard was considered as one category and above matriculation as the other category.

1.7. Area of Data Collection

The data was collected mainly from two areas of Bangalore City, viz., areas where the Iyengars are living (i) in concentrated groups where the possibilities for using their mother tongue even in their neighbourhood and (ii) in localities where Iyengars are sporadically distributed without any neighbourhood contact to use Tamil. Following is the schematic diagram of the samples collected.

Concentrated and Scattered Localities

Below VII standard			Above matriculation		
Lower *SCE	Middle SCE	Higher SCE	Lower SCE	Middle SCE	Higher SCE

*SCE = Socio-economic strata

1.8. Nature of the Data

Mainly the linguistic data recorded include the full conversations in Tamil. The subject matter for the conversation was selected on the basis of the questions asked about the informant's experience of travel, festival, celebrations, rituals, etc. At times the group discussions of people belonging to a

single variant category was also recorded. In addition to the uncontrolled conversations, some words and sentences were also given in English and their equivalence in Tamil was asked. Each sample consists of approximately two to three hours of recorded conversations.

1.9. Data Collection Techniques Adopted

Both the direct interview method and participant observation method were observed to get the information. Through different questions the informants were allowed to enter into natural conversation and the conversation was recorded. All times the group discussions were observed by the researcher and the points were noted. As far as possible the natural speech of the informants was collected.

1.10. Problems of Data Collection

There were many problems faced by the interviewer while collecting the relevant informations. Among the educated group, the problem is that they are very much cautious about the Tamil they use. The researcher felt that the Iyengars consider the type of Tamil used by them is a corrupt form and thus are very much reluctant to converse in Tamil. Also, once they are aware that their speech is being recorded, the informants are further reluctant to talk in Tamil. Another problem faced was the time for the interview. Since most of the informants are employed in different offices in and around Bangalore City, generally they find

time only after 6 P.M. That too they have difficulty in sitting more time with the interviewer after a tiresome work in the offices.

1.11. Analytical Technique and Methodology

The fully transcribed data was compared by keeping in view of the Tamil phonological, morphological, lexical and grammatical systems[3], in the sense, each and every convergent feature in all the above mentioned levels was identified and listed separately. The reduction and addition found in the speech pattern owing to the influence of the dominant language (Kannada) are stated.

1.12. Phonological Level

On looking into the overall phonological pattern in BIT, one can come across certain phonological developments with reference to the Tamil spoken in Tamilnadu owing to the influence of Kannada. In short, it is not incorrect to say that the phonology of Kannada has converged into the BIT.

1.12.1. Phenomenon of Devoicing

As per the phonological pattern of spoken Tamil, the intervocalic unvoiced stops get voiced though the orthography continue to show unvoiced symbol. In BIT, this phenomenon is not regularly noticed. In the sense, the intervocalic sounds are pronounced as such without any voicing in many cases.

Tamil	*Kannada*	*BIT*	*Gloss*
ka-d-e	ka-t-e	ka-t-e	'story'

a:-h-ale	a:-k-ale	a:-k-ale	'not possible'
pa:-ḍ-ō	pa:-ṭ-a	pa:-ṭ-a	'lesson'

Transfer:

It is commonly observed in BIT that the speakers transfer words from one language (Kannada) to another language (Tamil) sometimes with or without any modification in the phonemic pattern of the lexical items borrowed. Also some lexical items are not found in Tamilnadu Tamil, but are quite frequent in Kannada and also used in BIT with an intervocalic voiceless sound.

ki-ṭ-ikki	'window'
pakṣi-k-aḷu	'birds'
jo-t-e	'along with'

1.12.2. Word initial Voicing

In certain lexical items which are common to both Tamil and Kannada, the difference noticed is only the word initial sound. In such lexical items, the word initial sound is voiceless in Tamil whereas it is voiced in Kannada. That is, they show a correspondence of **k** → **g**. But, in the case of BIT, these words have the phonemic pattern of Kannada.

Tamil	*Kannada*	*BIT*	*Gloss*
ka:yam	ga:yḁ	ga:ya	'wound'
ku:ḍu	gu:ḍu	gu:ḍu	'nest'
kiḷi	giḷi	giḷi/giṇi	'parrot'

As indicated earlier, in BIT, the pronunciation of such lexical items are like Kannada with initial

voiced sounds. Also, as a result of this variation observed from one language to another where voicing and devoicing are involved, in BIT one can come across certain words pronounced with voiced initial consonants where no such voicing is involved either in Kannada or in Tamil, leading to the phenomenon of hypercorrection.

Tamil	*Kannada*	*BIT*	*Gloss*
ka:raṇam	ka:raṇa	ga:raṇa	'reason'

1.12.3. Loss of -m

The nouns that had word final **-m** have different reflexes in different dravidian languages. While both Kannada and Tamil lost this final **-m**, Tamil (spoken) compensated the loss of this nasal by nasalizing the last vowel (written Tamil has retained the final **-m**) as in:

Tamil		*Kannada*
(Written)	*(Spoken)*	
maram	marõ	mara

The BIT has adopted the Kannada pattern and not the Tamil one.

Tamil	*Kannada*	*BIT*	*Gloss*
ka:yõ	ga:ya	ga:ya	'wound'
marõ	mara	mara	'tree'
ka:raṇõ	ka:raṇa	ga:raṇa	'reason'
payõ	p^haya/baya	baya	'fear'
paḷõ	haṇṇu	paḷa	'fruit'
pustahc̃	pustaka	pustaka	'book'

1.12.4. Status of the Short Mid Central Unrounded Vowel ə in BIT

The status and the frequency of the short mid central unrounded vowel in BIT is worth investigation because both standard Tamil as well as in the other known dialects of Tamil, the presence of [ə] is unknow both at the phonemic as well as at the allophonic levels.

Hiremath (1961) states that in Kannada, "the central vowel [ə] has not been pointed out by ancient or modern Kannada grammarians. It is not found even today, in Mysore and Karwar dialects. It is natural to assume therefore that Dharwar dialect has developed this phoneme". Further, Hiremath gives some contrasts of this vowel in all positions. According to William Bright (1958) "ə occurs as a separate phoneme only in some idiolects".

In Kannada spoken in Bangalore, this vowel is noticed and also in BIT the occurrence of [ə] is frequently observed. But in all the utterances so far observed, this vowel occurs only in the initial position and displaces mainly the front unrounded vowel [a] and [e] of Tamil. Due to the insufficient data it is not possible to say whether this sound is a phoneme or not.

BIT	*Tamil*	
əṅgu	ange	'there'
əpḍitta	epḍi	'what kind'
ənakku	enakku	'for me'

One of the peculiar characteristic features of

Brahmin's Tamil in Tamilnadu is the presence of an alveolo palatal retroflex [ṣ]. This particular sound occurs in some lexical items of Tamil spoken by the Brahmins whereas it is absent among the non-Brahmin speech of Tamil. In Kannada there are two sounds which have been given phonemic status. They are the alveolo palatal retroflex [ṣ] and the blade alveolar sibliant [š]. According to William Bright (1958), in careful speech of Kannada [š] is replaced by [ṣ]. Though in BIT both the sounds mentioned above are used by the same individual in his speech variety more frequency is maintained for the blade alveolar sibilant [š]. So as to say that both these sounds are in free variation excepting in the environment where [s] is preceded or followed by a retroflex sound. In such environments always it is pronounced as the alveolo palatal retroflex [ṣ].

BIT

pašalu	'child'
ošram	'tall'
šombeRi	'lazy (person)'
a:ka:šo	'sky'
pudušu	'new'
paḷašu	'old'
šeldu	'some'
perušu	'big'

1.12.5. In Retroflex Environments

iṣṭu	'likeness'
paṭṣi	'bird'

e: — o:

It is observed that in certain words the long mid front unrounded vowel [e:] in Tamil becomes long mid back rounded vowel [o:] in BIT.

Tamil	*BIT*	
e:ṇi	o:ṇi	'ladder'
e:ndiru	o:ndiru	'get up'
ve:ṇu	vo:ṇu	'want'

This feature is peculiar to BIT, because the contact language as well as Tamil do not show this vowel shift. An indepth study is needed to establish the reason involved for this feature.

1.13. Lexical Level

Many lexical items used in BIT are from Kannada and such words are not found in Tamil. Also, in certain lexical items borrowed, even if the phonological structure of the word does not suit the Tamil phonological pattern such words are also taken into BIT without any assimilation. Word initial voicing can be an example for such borrowing. On observing the lexical influence in BIT, it is found that more nouns are taken as such from Kannada into BIT when compared to the other grammatical classes, viz., verb, adverb, etc. These lexical items are generally not free variation rather these words are used totally by displacing the Tamil words. Also, it is observed that most of the Tamil Iyengars could not even give the equivalent forms in Tamil and some persons have gone to the extent

of saying that these words are Tamil words. In other words, they are not even aware of the displacement of the original lexical item. Following are some of the words used in BIT.

BIT	*Tamil*	*Gloss*
beṭṭa	malai, kunRu	'hill' (N)
giṇi	kiḷi	'parrot' (N)
gu:ḍu	ku:ḍu	'nest' (N)
kiriḍu	ceviḍu	'deaf' (N)
koḷakku	aḷukku	'dirt' (N)
ja:ṇe	aRiva:ḷi	'wise' (N)
saṇṇa	cinna	'small' (Adj)
hasar	paccai	'green' (Adj)
etru	neṭṭai	'tall' (Adj)
va:pas	tirumba	'(give) back' (Adj)
ha:r	paRa	'fly' (V)

The lexical items cited above are used freely in BIT. Following are some of the sentences used with some of the lexical items cited above.

1) ava etru
'she is tall'

2) paṭṣi en tale me:l ha:riddu
'bird flew over my head'

3) na: enakkosarõ pudiya shirtge vaṅgine
'I have bought new shirts for me'

4) duṭṭu va:pas kuḍu
'return the money'

5) paḷu hasara ikkiRna
'the fruit is green'

6) koḷak kayyi
'dirty hand'

7) ya:ru eṇḍe jotele variṅgo?
'who will come with me?'

8) avaṇḍe tambi romba oṇṇu ja:ṇe annu
'his brother is not so clever'

9) ne:ttekki na:yi bogiḷkiṇḍintu
'yesterday the dog barked'

10) budva:ru vartukku a:gRada?
'can you come on Wednesday?'

11) ennu ha:ttu saṇṇadu
'my house is small'

1.14. Innovation

The usage of innovative forms are observed in BIT. It is quite interesting to note that these words have undergone considerable changes. For example, one such innovation has taken place in the word used by Iyengars for 'house'. Iyengars in Tamilnadue use the item 'a:m' to denote the meaning 'house'; but generally this word is not pronounced in isolation rather it is always used along with the dative case marker thus **a:ttukku** 'to the house'. In isolation the term **vi:ḍu** 'house' is commonly used. But in the case of Iyengars settled in Bangalore, the word **a:ttukku**, is uniformly used as **ha:ttukku** with an addition of voiceless velar sound at the initial syllable. There are two ways to trace the origin of this usage: (i) This could be an instance of hypercorrection, because in Kannada the word initial **h** of Brahmin dialect gets deleted by the non-Brahmins in many instances. For example:

ha:lu (Brahmin speech)
a:lu (non-Brahmin speech)

Similarly, the form **a:ttukku** might have become **ha:ttuku** in the speech of Iyengars in Bangalore to distinguish them from the non-Brahmins. (ii) This phenomenon can also be considered as retention; because in old Tamil it is referred **aham** for 'house'. In that case the present settlers must have retained the form of an old Tamil and presently using it with a change similar to metathesis. Whatever be the case, in the absence of an extensive data, at this juncture it is not possible to say the nature of the formation of this word. Also, this lexical item is pronounced without the accompanying case marker which results into the usage **ha:ttu.** Thus the sentence goes,

idu avõ ha:ttu	'this is his house'
periya ha:ttu	'big house'

This type of usage is not accounted in the speech of Iyengars settled in Tamilnadu. In this case, following the pattern of the other nouns which can occur in isolation without the dative case marker, BIT has adopted in its vocabulary **ha:ttu** 'house'.

Some of the grammatical patterns in BIT show a clear influence of Kannada. At the first instance if we consider the pronominal terminations (PT) found in standard Kannada and standard Tamil, it is possible to identify certain language specific features. In BIT, both the PT markers of Tamil as well as of Kannada are frequently used without any conditioning factor involved in such usage. We can say that they are in free variation.

For example, in Kannada as far as the pronominal termination is concerned, there are two sets, one to denote for the past and future, and the other for the present. Whereas Tamil has only one type of pronominal termination to denote all the tenses. If we examine this phenomenon in BIT, we find that BIT has adopted the Kannada pattern even with Tamil verb roots though at times it follows the Tamil pattern.

1.15. The Pronominal Terminations in Kannada can be Indicated as Follows as Against the Tamil

	Kannada	*Tamil*	
1)	hoḍede	aḍitte:n	'I bet'
	hoḍeyuvenu	aḍippe:n	'I will beat'
	hoḍittini	aḍikkire:n	'I beat'
2)	hoḍede	aḍitta:y	'you (sg.) bet'
	hoḍeyuve	aḍippa:y	'you (sg.) will beat'
	hoḍeyittiye	aḍikkira:y	'you (sg.) beat'
3)	hoḍedire	aḍitti:rkaḷ	'you (pl.) bet'
	hoḍeyuviri	aḍippi:rkaḷ	'you (pl.) will beat'
	hoḍeyittiri	aḍikkiri:rkal	'you beat'
4)	hoḍedevu	aḍitto:m	'we bet'
	hoḍeyuvevu	aḍippo:m	'we will beat'
	hoḍeyutteru	aḍikkiro:m	'we beat'

Thus, the usage of personal termination in BIT is found to be in a liquid state. In short these types of blend is used in a very loose manner without any conditioning factor involved in the usage. As a result, the same speaker will use both the type of blend, viz.,

Kannada verb root plus the Tamil termination and vice-versa in his speech. Following are some of the examples from BIT where both these types are illustrated.

1) Tamil verb root with Kannada and Tamil PT:

aḍitt-e:n	'(I) bet'
aḍipp-e:n	'(I) will beat'
aḍitt-ini	'(I) beat'
aḍitt-a	'you (sg.) bet'
aḍipp-a	'you (sg.) will beat'
aḍikr-a	'you (sg.) beat'
aḍitt-i:ṅga	'you (pl.) bet'
aḍipp-i:ṅga	'you (pl.) will beat'
aḍitt-iri	'you (pl.) beat'

2) Kannada verb root with Tamil PT:

ha:rin-e:n	'(I) flew'
ha:ruv-e:n	'(I) will fly'
ha:rur-e:n	'(I) fly'
ha:rin-a	'you (sg.) flew'
ha:ruv-a	'you (sg.) will fly'
ha:rur-a	'you (sg.) fly'
ha:rin-i:ṅga	'you (pl.) flew'
ha:ruv-i:ṅga	'you (pl.) will fly'
ha:rur-i:ṅga	'you (pl.) fly'

1.16. Neuter Termination

In the case of neuter PT, the BIT neutralizes the opposition in number and uses a single form for both. Though standard spoken Tamil does not use the neuter plural termination, it is strictly followed in the written Tamil. In spoken Kannada the usage of neuter

termination is optional, in the sense both the singular and plural PT are used by the same person. For example:

hakki ku:tide	'bird is sitting'
hakkigaḷu ku:tive	'birds are sitting'
hakkigaḷu ku:tide	'birds are sitting'
danagaḷu ide	'cattles are there'
danagaḷu ive	'cattles are there'

Tamil (Spoken)

1) paRavai ukkandirukku
'bird is sitting'

2) paRavaikaḷellã ukkandirukku
'birds (all) are sitting'

3) ma:ḍu irukkudu
'cow is there'

4) ma:ḍukaḷellã irukkudu
'cows are there'

In BIT, irrespective of the number of the neuter subject, the neuter termination **-na** is used. This suffix **-na** may be the retention of the suffix used in written Tamil to express neuter plural. For instance:

Tamil (Written)

1) marattilirundu eleyellam vi<u>l</u>ukinRana
'leaves are falling from the tree'

2) paRavai marattinmel uṭkarndi-rukkiRadu
'the bird is sitting on the tree'

BIT

1) marattunnu eleyella viḷRina
'leaves are falling from the tree'

2) paṭṣi marattumel ukkarna
'bird is sitting on the tree'

3) ma:ḍu pul sa:pṭkunu nikkiRna
'cow is grazing'

4) inda kate nalla ikkiRna
'this story is good'

5) mara ro:ṭku andakaḍi ikiRna
'tree is on that side of the road'

6) paḷu hasara ikkiRna
'fruit is green'

7) pu:vu covappa ikkiRna
'flower is red'

8) giṇihaḷu marattumel ikkiRna
'parrots are on the tree'

9) oru ma:sattule muppidu na:ḷ ikkiRna
'there are thirty days in a month'

Plural:

Commonly used plural makers in colloquial Tamil are **-ga** and **-kaḷ**. Kannada has the suffixes **-gal** and **-kaḷ** to denote the number. BIT has adopted two plural markers, viz., **-ge** and **-gal**. In these, **-gal** is the suffix found in Kannada. In Kannada the suffix **-ge** is the dative case marker. But in BIT the suffix **-ge** is the homophonous form to denote the dative case and plurality. Also, the occurrence of the suffix **-ge** seems to have certain restrictions in the sense it will not occur after the **-a** ending nouns.

Here it is interesting to note that the plural suffix **-ga** which is commonly used in colloquial Tamil is almost lost its purpose in BIT. Even if we take the usage **pasaṅgaḷu** 'children' in BIT, the plural marker **-gaḷu** is prominant than **-ga**. Or else we can say that it is the double plural because Tamil has **pasaṅga**

to denote plurality.

Following are some of the illustrations indicating the usage of plural markers. One should observe that there is no semantic differences noticed in the pairs of sentences involving the two plural markers.

1) pasaṅgaḷu dino a:ḍuraru/
pasaṅge dino a:ḍuraru
'children play daily'

2) paṭṣigaḷukku rekke ikiRna/
paṭṣigekku rekke ikkiRna
'birds have wings'

3) sele mi:nugaḷu perusu/
sele mi:nuge sirisu
'some fishes are big some are small'

Vowel ending neuter nouns while taking the plural marker the velar fricative **h** also freely varies with the velar voiced plosive **g**. Thus, **paḷu** 'fruit' becomes **paḷohaḷu/paḷogaḷu** 'fruits' and **ele** 'leaf' becomes **elehaḷu/elegaḷu** 'leaves'.

This kind of free variation found in BIT may be the reflection of the similar kind of situation observed in Tamil where the phoneme /k/ has two allophones [h] and [k]. In BIT the situation may be /g/ --> [h] and [g].

1.17. Cases

The accusative and locative case markers used by the BIT do not exactly tally with the ones used by the Tamilnadu Tamil or with the corresponding

form of Kannada though BIT forms are closer to the Tamilnadu Tamil forms. For instance, BIT has **-ye,-le** respectively for accusative and locative and the corresponding form in Tamilnadu Tamil are **-ai** and **-il.** Kannada has **-annu** and **-alli** to denote the two cases. A few illustrative examples are cited below.

1.17.1. Accusative

1) ninnannu na:ḷe no:ḍittini (Ka.)
unnai na:ḷe pa:krẽ (Ta.)
onye na:ḷekku pa:kRo (BIT)
'I will see you tomorrow'

2) makkaḷu avananna no:ḍuttave (Ka.)
payya avane pa:kira (Ta.)
paslu avanye pa:kRana (BIT)
'the child sees him'

1.17.2. Locative

avanu maneyalli iddane (Ka.)
avẽ vi:ṭṭil irukRã (Ta.)
avo ha:tle ikkiRna (BIT)
'he is in the house'

1.17.3. Dative

With regard to the use of the dative case suffixes, BIT has blended and uses the markers found in Tamil as well as in Kannada. For example, the dative case suffix in Tamil is **-kk(u)** and Kannada uses the suffix **-kke** for **-a** ending neuter nouns and **-ige** with all the other nouns. BIT uses both **-kku** and **-ge** as the dative case suffixes. It is observed that the usage

as dative case construction in BIT has some peculiar character owing to the constant influence of Kannada which too has a partially similar dative case suffix as that of Tamil.

It is already discussed under the section on plural that BIT has two plural suffixes, viz., **-ge** and **gaḷu** of which **-ge** is a homophonouns form common both to denote plurality as well as dative case.

The dative case markers in Kannada are phonologically conditioned whereas in BIT they seemed to be in free variation though it cannot be stated precisely owing to the limited nature of the data. For instance, Tamil uses **avaḷukku** 'to her' which has an equivalent form in Kannada as **avaḷige** 'to her'. But BIT has adopted both these varieties, that is, **avaḷukku** and **avaḷuge**. Among these two types of usages, the latter form can be the result of convergence because Tamilnadu Tamil does not have this suffix **(-ge)** to indicate dative case even in its dialectal variations.

BIT

1) avaḷukku/avaḷuge mu:ṇ peṇ pasaṅge ikkiRna
   'she has three daughters'
2) maragaḷukku maṇ po:du
   'put earth to the trees'
3) paṭṣigekku so:ru koḍu
   'give rice to the birds'

1.17.4. Ablative

As far as the ablative case is concerned, BIT has two forms in usage. Kannada has **-inda** and Tamil has

-lerundu as ablative case suffixes. But BIT uses **-ina** and **-anu** as ablative case suffixes.

1) eleyella marattina ki:ḷe viḻRina
'the leaves fall from the tree'

2) avo office anu vaRa
'he comes from the office'

1.17.5. Genitive

The genitive case in Tamil is marked with **-uḍaya** which has the possessive meaning too. In Kannada **-a** is the genitive suffix used. BIT has two genitive suffixes which are in free variation. They are **-ḍe** and **-ḍa**. This suffix **-ḍe** can be traced to the **-uḍaya** of Tamil and it is used with considerable changes. Moreover, if we consider the following Kannada sentences involving genitive suffix, it is possible to say that BIT has some influence while using the genitive suffix.

1) ennuḍaya piḷḷai (Ta.)
nanna magu (Ka.)
eṇḍe/eṇḍa puḷḷe (BIT) — 'my child'

2) unnuḍaya pustakam (Ta.)
ninna pustaka (Ka.)
oṇḍe/oṇḍa pustaka (BIT) — 'your book'

3) eṅgaḷuḍaya vi:ḍu (Ta.)
namma mane (Ka.)
eṅgaḷḍe/eṅgaḷḍa ha:ttu (BIT) — 'our house'

4) avaḷuḍaya na:y (Ta.)
avaḷa na:yi (Ka.)
avaḷḍe/avaḷḍa na:yi (BIT) — 'her dog'

1.18. Numerals

Numerals in BIT follow the pattern of Tamil upto eight. Nine and the multiples of ten show some phonological features which are not found in Tamil or in Kannada. For instance, in BIT, number nine is pronounced as **ombidu**, for which the Tamil and Kannada equivalents will be **ombadu** and **ombattu** respectively. In BIT thus it is observed that the word final **-a** of the first element of the compound numeral changes into **-i**. Following are the comparative examples of the multiples of ten used in Tamil, Kannada and BIT.

Tamil	*Kannada*	*BIT*	*Gloss*
iruvadu	ippattu	iruvidu	'twenty'
na:ppadu	naluvattu	na:Rpidu	'forty'
aRuvadu	aRuvattu	aRuvidu	'sixty'
emba;du	embattu	embidu	'eighty'
nu:Ru	nu:Ru	nu:Ru	'hundred'
nu:ttionnu	nu:Rondu	nu:vihonnu	'hundred and one'

1.19. Tense

1.19.1. Past Tense

The use of past tense markers in BIT depends on the source of the verb used. That is, if the verb used in BIT is a Tamil verb, the past tense marker found in Tamil is used while conjugation and if the verb is borrowed from Kannada, the conjugated form will follow the pattern found in Kannada. For example, the verbs used in BIT for 'fall' and 'write' are **vilu** and **eludu** respectively. The corresponding forms in Kannada are **bilu** (Present) --- **bidda** (Past), **bare** (Present) ---

bareḍa (Past). Tamil has the verb **viḻu** and **eḻudu** with the past tense conjugation **viḻunda** and **eḻudina**. Since BIT has also uses the same verbs as such without any phonological changes, the conjugation will also follow the model adopted in Tamil.

The verb **ha:r** 'fly' is used in BIT and it is borrowed from Kannada. Therefore the past tense form in BIT is similar to that of the Kannada, i.e., **hariddu** 'flew (it)'. In Tamil the equivalent form is para 'fly' and the past tense will be **parandadu** 'flew (it)'.

1.20. Negation

The formation of negative sentences in BIT are quite interesting to study. It could be stated that Kannada structure has converged into the system of BIT and it is very explicit. But at the same time the pattern of Tamilnadu Tamil is also not fully disappeared in the sense it is also used time and again with lesser frequency. For example, in Tamilnadu Tamil the future negative is represented by a separate negative marker **ma:ṭṭ**, whereas in Kannada both present and future are neutralised. But, in BIT the future negative marker **ma:ṭṭ** is used with lesser frequency. Otherwise in BIT the system prevailing in Kannada is followed. In addition to that, it is also observed certain types of innovative usages in BIT. This usage is neither found in Tamilnadu Tamil nor in Kannada.

idu eṇḍe ka:ryo annu*
'this is not my work'

*More details are given at the end of the section.

"When we look into the nature of negative formation in Tamil and Kannada, we find the neutralisation of certain tenses. In Tamil, present tense and past tense are neutralised, thus making the binary distinction of future and non-future. But, in Kannada, present tense and future tense are neutralised" (Rangan and Gnanasundaram, 1977).

Tamil

Example	Tense
1) avan ne:RRu varavillai 'he did not come yesterday' 2) avan inRu varavillai 'he did not come today'	past
3) avan na:ḷai varama:ṭṭa:n 'he will not come tomorrow'	future

Kannada

Example	Tense
1) avanu ninne baralilla 'he did not come yesterday'	past
2) avanu indu baruvadilla 'he will not come today' 3) avanu na:ḷe baruvadilla 'he will not come tomorrow'	future

Tamil:

The past negative construction in Tamil consists of verb stem + infinitive suffix **-a** and the negative suffix **-le**.

var - a - le 'did not come'

Future negative is formed by replacing the negative marker **-ma:ṭṭ** in the place of **-le**.

var - a - ma:ṭṭen '(I) will not come'

Kannada:

Kannada has also the similar type of construction as

found in Tamil. That is, past negative construction consists of verb stem + infinitive marker **-al** + the negative marker **-illa.**

bar - al - illa 'did not come' (past)

Aslo, the past negative construction is formed by the addition of past participial form and the negative marker.

band - illa 'did not come'

The non-past is expressed with the verbal noun + negative.

baruvad - illa 'will not come'

In BIT, it is commonly observed that the past negative is formed by the addition of past participle with the negative marker. This type of negative construction is not at all found in Tamilnadu Tamil. Folowing are some of the examples with similar kind of negative construction as opposed to Kannada.

BIT

1) na:ṅga innu pa:ttille — past participle + negative
'we have not seen yet'

2) avō ne:RRekku vandille
'he did not come yesterday'

Kannada

1) na:vu innu no:diyilla
'we have not seen yet'

2) avanu ninne bandilla
'he did not come yesterday'

In Tamilnadu Tamil as stated earlier, similar type of negative construction will be formed with infinitive + negative.

1) na:ṅga innũ pa:kkavillai/pa:kkale

2) avẽ ne:ttu varavillai/varale

In addition to the above mentioned type of negative construction similar to Tamil, BIT has attested another type too where, along with the verb stem, infinitive is added followed by the negative marker. But, the frequency of this type of negative construction is very low.

na: oṇṇu collaville 'I did not say anything'

It may be argued that the latter type of negative construction involving infinitive is in the process of losing from the structure of BIT mainly because of two reasons, viz., (i) low frequency in general usage and (ii) found only among the elder generation speakers. The younger generation speakers more often use the ppl. + neg. type of construction. It is observed that the former type of construction is almost not known to them. Again as stated earlier the use of **maṭṭu** to denote future negative is also noticed in BIT though the frequency of use is very less. This type of construction involving future negative is not found in the structure of Kannada but exactly fit into the structure of Tamilnadu Tamil.

Verbal Noun + Negative:

In BIT, the negative construction with the structure of verbal noun + negative marker denotes both habitual meaning as well as indicates simple future, whereas Tamilnadu Tamil expresses only the habitual meaning with the similar structure. The expression of simple future negative meaning is absent in TN Tamil. But,

Kannada expresses both the meanings through this type of negative construction.

BIT

1) ava ka:ryo paṇRadille
   'she does not work'
   (used in a habitual sense)

2) na: iṇṇekku vardille
   'I will not come today'
   (simple future)

Tamil

1) avaḷ ka:ryam paṇRadille

The above sentence in Tamil expresses only habitual sense. But, in Tamil the sentence (2) found in BIT is expressed as follows to convey the future notion.

na:n innekku varama:tte:n
'I will not come today'

Innovation:

An innovative term **annu** which is not found both in Kannada and Tamil is also used frequently in BIT in certain negative constructions. This term **annu** is mostly found in simple negative sentences as free form and also freely varies with **illa** the common negative morpheme. But, the reverse usage is not possible. That is, **illa** when it comes with the verb as a bound form cannot be replaced by **annu**.

idu eṇḍeka:ryo annu
idu eṇḍeka:ryo illa
' this is not my work'

adu paṭsi annu/illa
'that is not a bird'

ava iṇṇekku vardille
'she will not come today'

*ava iṇṇekku vardannu

1.21. Summary and Conclusion

In the preceding sections, we have discussed the convergent features observed in Bangalore Iyengar's Tamil. As discussed earlier, we can see the linguistic features from the dominant language (Kannada) have been embedded into BIT in all levels and the mixture of these linguistic features are so high that BIT to a greater extent unintelligible to the Tamil speakers from Tamilnadu. Moreover, the community under study due to their extended stay in the present linguistic environment are in the process of losing their linguistic identity which will be a strong contributing force for language loss. In a way BIT at present is undergoing a partial linguistic change, the direction of the change is obviously towards the dominant language.

For example, at the phonological level the word initial voicing in words, like **ka:yam** (Ta.) > **ga:ya** (BIT) is noticed in BIT which is not the character of Tamilnadu Tamil, but prevalent in Kannada. Also, the intervocalic voicing is observed in BIT which is absent in Tamil. Introduction of the short mid central unrounded vowel ə in BIT from Kannada is another characteristic feature of BIT showing change.

In lexical level also it is found that many words are borrowed from Kannada and are used freely in BIT.

*Wrong construction.

At the morphological level to cite few examples it is not uncommon to find in BIT Tamil verb roots with Kannada personal termination and vice versa.

Cases are the other area where we can notice considerable changes.

In addition to the above cited linguistic changes observed in the Tamil spoken by the Iyengars, if we look into the language attitude of the community under study, we can observe that those in the higher socio-economic strata have almost lost their linguistic identity and the language. The middle and the lower socio-economic groups have retained their language and linguistic identity comparatively to a greater extent. Also, in these groups, age is playing a considerable role in contributing to the lose of their language. For instance, it is noted that the younger generation speaks Tamil very little and converse mostly in Kannada even with their parents in the family domain even though their parents speak to them in Tamil. This may be due to the fact that most of them are studying through Kannada medium schools and also the use of Tamil is highly restricted to very limited domains, like house (See, the first section). Moreover, none of them know to read and write Tamil.

As a result of such conditions, in addition to the lexical borrowings from Kannada, convergence at grammatical level also took place. It is not uncommon to find part of the sentence in BIT has Kannada features and the other part has Tamil forms. To cite a few

examples, the following sentences, like

1) paḷu hasara ikkiRna
   'the fruit is green'

2) ne:ttekki na:yi bogiḷkiṇḍintu
   'yesterday the dog barked'

3) budva:ru vartukku a:gRada
   'can you come on Wednesday'

are quite frequently used in BIT (in the absence of an extensive data it is not possible to give more examples on sentences showing different combinations of Kannada influence). Among the variables selected for the study, only the age and the socio-economic strata have influence over the language shift/loss and the other variables, such as sex and education did not have any influence in shift/loss of the language.

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TAMIL SPOKEN BY MUDALIARS IN BANGALORE CITY

2.1. History and Migration of the Community

During the British period most of the key positions in the Government offices were occupied by the Tamil Brahmins and it was Brahmins who brought Mudaliars from Tamilnadu to help them in administration. Most of the Mudaliars living at present in Bangalore have come from Arcot District of Tamilnadu. Even now it is found that many houses of Mudaliars are named as 'Arcot House'. During the course of time, many Mudaliars have migrated from Tamilnadu to Bangalore and they were offered generally the lower posts by the then British administration.

Presently, Mudaliars are found in Bangalore in different employments starting from professionals to business people. We can however find among Mudaliars more persons involved in business.

2.2. Language Use by the Mudaliars

Mostly bilingualism prevails among Mudaliars. That is, they are bilinguals in Tamil and Kannada. Among the early settlers whom the present study covers both Tamil and Kannada are extensively used. A broad two-way categorization can be made as far as the language

use by the Mudaliars in Bangalore are concerned. They are: (i) Language use in the family domains which includes the communal meetings and while interacting with the other Tamil speakers and (ii) Language use in other context not included under the category (i). Since the scope of the present study is not pertaining to language use, much details on micro level language use is not explored. However, it is observed that unlike Iyengars, Mudaliars distinctly demarcate the choice of their language while they are interacting in the two situations mentioned above. For example, in home domain irrespective of the social class or the educational background a speaker may belong to, the choice of the code is mostly Tamil and at times with English depending upon the educational background of the interlocutors in the speech situation. Whereas in the other domains, that is, in office, market place and other areas the use of Kannada and English are predominant due to the fact that Kannada is the official and dominant language of the area and also due to the fact that Mudaliars whom the present study covers are bilinguals. In addition to the situations mentioned above, whenever the situation demands the language choice will be made by the Mudaliars starting from Tamil to English and Kannada. In public places the language choice by the Mudaliars depends mainly on the interlocutors. In short, the conditioning factor in public places for language choice is not the domain involved but the person with whom the interaction takes place. For example, it is observed that two persons

from the same community (Mudaliar) while talking in a public place, mainly Tamil is used. Whereas, if a Mudaliar meets a Kannada mother tongue speaker known to him or a stranger, the language used is only Kannada or English. It is also important to note that while interacting with a stranger either in Kannada or in English if the stranger starts the conversation in Tamil there will not be any hesitation to continue the conversation in Tamil by the Mudaliars. This type of linguistic fluidity in language use obviously shows that the Mudaliars are extensively bilinguals and have adopted the language of the area to a greater extent while at the same time maintaining their mother tongue. It is relevant here to observe that the children are compulsorily taught Tamil either at home, school or with the help of the private teacher even in the case of children studying through either English medium or Kannada medium schools. The knowledge of Tamil and its use is further improved and shaped mainly in the domain of family. It is clear by the fact that most of the middle class and higher class people are subscribing to Tamil magazines and dailies as well as taking active part in the activities of Tamil Sangham where plenty of reading materials in Tamil are available for the members. It is indubitably discernible from the language use and behaviour of the community that there is a full linguistic participation with the dominant linguistic group. Also, the language loyalty to Tamil is strictly adhered resulting in the maintenance of the ancestral language simultaneously. This type of

functionally differentiated language use and code choice among Mudaliars is found throughout the cross section of the community as well as those who live in concentrated groups. An observation of the linguistic interaction by Mudaliars in formal functions, like native marriage ceremony, temple festivals, death ceremony of the dominant group, etc., would further substantiate our claim. In such places it is commonly observed that the Mudaliars freely and constantly switch from Tamil to Kannada in the same setting while interacting with their family members and Kannada native speakers respectively. It is evident from this linguistic behaviour that the community under study possesses a verbal repertoire of two languages, viz., Tamil, a minority language and Kannada a dominant language. Also, the effective use of these languages in specific situations are maintained at ease.

Observations on the basis of across generations also revealed the same language use situation. As mentioned earlier, the children are invariably taught Tamil and since Tamil is used in the domain of family the peer group does not have any difficulty in maintaining it.

2.3. Sampling Technique and Variables

Linguistic data consist of total 12 samples. Each sample has 500 sentences 300 words and conversation with the community members. The variables selected for the present study are

1) Period of stay,

2) Economic status and
3) Education.

1) Period of Stay

The data were collected from those Mudaliars whose ancestors have migrated to Bangalore at least two generations ago.

2) Economic Status

Economic status was divided into three categories, namely lower (income less than Rs.250/- p.m.), middle (income less than Rs.1,000/- and above Rs.500/- p.m.) and higher strata (income above Rs.1,000/- p.m.).

3) Education

Education upto X standard was considered as one category and above matriculation as other category.

2.4. Area of Data Collection

Though Mudaliars found to be living in different localities of the city, in Cantonment and Ulsoor they are found living in a fairly large number. Areas, such as Malleswaram, Seshadripuram, Jayanagar, etc., the Mudaliars population is scattered. Data were collected from the Mudaliars living in concentrated localities as well as in the localities, where they are settled in a sporadic manner in order to find out whether the neighbourhood has any impact on the Tamil used by the Mudaliars.

2.5. Problems of Data Collection

Since most of the informants, the researcher met, are either in business or working in the offices it

was difficult to get them during the day time for the data collection. Most of the time the data could be collected only in their house after the office hours or during the holidays. In spite of their busy life, the informants were much co-operative in sharing their knowledge of Tamil with the investigator. Since the knowledge of Tamil with most of the informants are considerably good, they were not shy or reluctant to speak even while recording the conversations or sentences.

2.6. Analytical Technique and Methodology

The transcribed Tamil data were compared with the Tamil spoken in Tamilnadu and the convergent features identified in all the linguistic levels, viz., phonological, morphological, lexical and grammatical were listed separately to identify the source of the new item. In addition to this, any innovative features, addition or reduction at grammatical, morphological or phonological levels owing to the influence of the dominant language (Kannada) were also listed separately. The linguistic data obtained from an informant listed under a certain variable were compared with the informants coming under other variable in order to find any variation in use.

2.7. Extent of Interference and Convergence

As stated earlier in the section on language use, the Mudaliars, in the context of the dominant linguistic situation they are embedded in, have the capacity to appropriate selection of linguistic code with

reference to the relationship of interlocutors, topic, setting, etc. In essence, Mudaliars are fully aware of the 'ecology of language', that is, they know the relationship of language to its social environment. At the same time they are maintaining their mother tongue also. In prelude to the linguistic behaviour of the community and the less affected nature of their mother tongue, it is not incorrect to say that Mudaliars have more language loyalty and are contributing their might to maintain and cultivate their mother tongue. As a result of this type of positive attitude towards both their mother tongue as well as the dominant language of the area the convergent features and interference from the dominant language (Kannada) are found to be minimal in their Tamil. However, the period of stay in the dominant language situation and the impact and exertion of socio-political and economic pressure on the migrated community by the dominant linguistic group have resulted in the interference and convergence in the language of the minority group to a lesser degree. Mostly this type of features are observed at the phonological, lexical and to some extent at the grammatical levels.

2.7.1. Phonological Level

At the phonological level though not much deviation from the Tamil of Tamilnadu is noticed in the speech of Mudaliars, at times certain features from Kannada do interfere. For example, intervocalic voiced stops in Tamilnadu Tamil lose its voiced nature in some

instances. This phenomenon of devoicing is not uniformly observed. However, it is noticed in the fast speech of the Mudaliars. Moreover, it is observed either in the words which are common to both the languages or in the borrowed lexical items from Kannada.

Common Vocabulary:

Tamil	*Mudaliar Tamil (MT)*	*Kannada*	*Gloss*
ku-ḍ-umbam	ku-ṭ-umpa	ku-ṭ-umba	'family'
ka-d-e	ka-t-e	ka-t-e	'story'

Tamil Words With Deviant Pronunciation:

Tamil	*Mudaliar Tamil*	*Gloss*
sami-battula	sami-pattula	'in the near future'
ma-h-an	ma-k-an	'son'
pa-h-al	pa-k-al	'day time'
ku:-ḍ-e	ku:-ṭ-e	'basket'

2.7.2. Word Initial Voicing

Certain lexical items which are common to both Kannada and Tamil differ only in their word initial sounds. That is, in Tamil such words are pronounced with word initial voiceless sound whereas Kannada it becomes voiced. In MT, such words are pronounced with word initial voicing. Though only a few examples are found in MT where the dissimilar lexical inclusions are pronounced in Kannada at the same way as pronounced by the Mudaliars. As a result of this it is difficult to say whether this is a phenomenon of word initial voicing or simply lexical borrowing. On seeing some

of the items used in MT, like **da:ṇḍu** 'to cross over' where word initial voicing has taken place, one can however infer that it may be due to the influence of Kannada, because in Kannada the word used is **da:ṭṭu** 'to cross over'. Tamilnadu Tamil uses **ta:ṇḍu**.

Word Initial Voicing (Identical Words):

Tamil	*Kannada*	*MT*	*Gloss*
ku:ṇḍu/ ku:ḍu	gu:ḍu	gu:ṇḍu	'cage'
pu:cci	bu:cci	bu:cci	'insect'

Non-identical Words:

kiḷi	giṇi	giḷi	'parrot'
ta:ṇḍu	da:ṭṭu	da:ṇḍu	'to cross over'

2.7.3. Loss of Word Final -m

It is interesting to observe that most of the nouns used by Mudaliars where word final **-m** is present in Tamil have lost that final **-m** in the speech of Mudaliars. However, the same words are used in Kannada without this word final **-m**. Although MT does not employ the word final **-m** in such nouns, it is incorrect to say that they have lost it completely as compared to the Tamil speech of Iyengars. To indicate the situation it is commonly observed that Mudaliars in general are conscious about this phenomenon. That is, while they are consciously speaking to a Tamil native speaker from Tamilnadu, it is found that they are pronouncing the word final **-m** very clearly; but losing it while conversing in a relaxed manner with their own community people. As a repercussion to such controlled usage,

one could clearly understand that the phonological repertoire of Mudaliars has in it the complete phonological structure of the lexical item involving word final **-m**. The deletion and inclusion of this phonological phenomenon is conditioned by the circumstances in which the speaker is involved, say the presence of a Tamil native speaker. Such type of functional diversity is lacking among Iyengars. This has direct relevance with the language attitude of the community as a whole towards their mother tongue.

<u>Words Involving Word Final -**m**:</u>

Tamil	*Kannada*	*MT**	*Gloss*
marõ	mara	mara	'tree'
pustakõ	pustaka	pustaka	'book'
paḷõ	haṇṇu	paḷa	'fruit'
ka:yõ	ga:ya	ga:ya	'wound'
ni:lõ	ni:li	ni:la	'blue'

2.7.4. Lengthening of Word Final -a

Interrogative pronoun found in Tamilnadu Tamil **ennʌ** 'what' has been pronounced with an unusual lengthening of the final vowel **a**. Moreover, in TN Tamil the final vowel observed in the interrogative pronoun **ennʌ** is the lower mid back unrounded variety **ʌ**. Whereas MT observes always the low back unrounded variety with extra length. The vowel change from **ʌ** to **a:** in this interrogative pronoun is uniformly observed among

*While using in the family domain as well as while interacting with their own community people.

the Mudaliars and also the vowel difference in such usage predominantly affects the phonological system of the language at least from the listener's point of view once it is used in a full sentence. In other words, there is a demarcating difference between the word pronounced both in TN Tamil and MT. Owing to the lengthening of this vowel, it is observed that the intonation also considerably changes when compared to the intonation pattern of Tamilnadu Tamil specifically where this particular word comes. Because of the presence of the long vowel at the end of this interrogative pronoun, more stress is placed at the vowels. In Tamilnadu Tamil wherever the interrogative marker **-aa** comes similar type of stress is observed.

1) ennʌ sa:ppiḍuRa 'what you eat' (TNT)

$\overset{1}{\text{e}}\text{nn}\overset{2}{\text{a}}\text{:}\Uparrow$ sa:ppiduRa (MT)

2) õ pe:ru ennʌ 'what is your name' (TNT)

$\overset{1}{\text{o}}\text{n}$ pe:ru $\overset{2}{\text{e}}\text{nn}\overset{3}{\text{a}}\text{:}\Uparrow$ (MT)

The Kannada equivalent for this interrogative pronoun is **e:nu** 'what'. It is interesting to note that the usage of these two interrogative pronouns found in these two languages by Mudaliars are not at all lucid. In the strict sense some flexibility is observed in the usage. For example, the same person while talking to his own community members in Tamil will use **e:nu** at one instant and **enna** at the other. The following sentence may be noted as example:

1) ni: e:nappa eppavu aṅgeye po:Ra onakku
you why always there only go you for

ave enna: koḍukkuRa
he what give

'why you are always going there? what he is giving to you'

In the course of conversation the following sentence is also observed.

2) enna:ppa ave keḍakuRa
what he lie

'what is there? let him go to hell!'

By seeing these two sentences it is not possible to say that **e:nappa** of sentence (1) is only a lexical borrowing from Kannada because Kannada has this type of usage with long initial vowel. In sentence (2) the length of vowel is shifted to the final vowel of the interrogative pronoun which is not common to Kannada and thus coming to the phonological pattern of Tamil. This can be the result of 'eye pronunciation'. As stated earlier, Mudaliars are able to read and write but at the same time are not frequently exposed to the actual pronunciation of Tamil prevalent in Tamilnadu. Tamil orthography does not distinguish the difference between the lower mid unrounded vowel ʌ with low back unrounded vowel **a**. Orthographically only the latter variety is represented. As an impact of this type of writing system, Mudaliars have adopted the second variety of the vowel exclusively in the final position without aware of the fact that in Tamil-nadu Tamil the same vowel changes its quality in certain

environments. Moreover, the interrogative marker **a:** which is a morphological category and also a long back unrounded vowel in Tamil. Thus the Mudaliars have combined both the interrogative marker **-a:** with the interrogative pronoun **ennʌ** along with the orthographic way of pronouncing the word final vowel.

2.7.5. Quality of the Word Final Diphthong -ai

Another instance of eye pronunciation is the retention of the word final **-ai** as such in the speech of Mudaliars. Tamil has in its writing system only one orthographic representation to denote **-ai;** but while pronouncing Tamilnadu Tamil employs always the front lower mid open vowel ɛ at the word final position. For example:

Tamil		*Gloss*
(Written)	*(Spoken)*	
malai	mʌlɛ	'mountain'
kalai	kʌlɛ	'art'
talai	tʌlɛ	'head'
valai	vʌlɛ	'net'

The above mentioned words are pronounced by the Mudaliars with a final diphthong. In addition to the influence of eye pronunciation, this phenomenon may also be viewed with reference to the phonological structure of Kannada. In Kannada only mono-syllabic words, such as **bai** 'scold', **kai** 'hand', **mai** 'body' have diphthongised pronunciation. These words are also written by using a secondary symbol of **y** and pronounced as **ai**, whereas the other words are pronounced

as well as written by using the symbol ɛ.

Kannada		Gloss
(Written)	*(Spoken)*	
mʌlɛ	mʌlɛ	'mountain'
kʌlɛ	kʌlɛ	'art'
tʌlɛ	tʌlɛ	'head'
bʌlɛ	bʌlɛ	'net'

As it is found in Kannada, in Tamil also the mono-syllabic words involving word final diphthong are pronounced as such though Tamil does not make any orthographic distinction, like Kannada. Interestingly it is observed that Mudaliars in their Tamil speech make no distinction in pronouncing the word final diphthong. Moreover, lexical items common to both Kannada and Tamil, like the one cited above involving the word final diphthongs are pronounced by the Mudaliars as a diphthong at the word final position while speaking in Tamil and as an epsalone while speaking in Kannada. This type of duality in pronunciation further proves that Tamil orthography is playing a dominant role in deciding the criterion for pronunciation.

2.7.6. Pronunciation of Vowel 'o'

Similar to the situations explained in section 2.8.4 and 2.8.5, another phonological feature which is retained as per the orthographic representation in Mudaliar Tamil is the high back rounded vowel **u**. At the word initial position, especially in the oblique base of the second person non-honorofic pronoun **un** written Tamil employs the symbol **u** to denote the initial vowel,

whereas during pronunciation always **o** is used. For example:

Tamilnadu Tamil

Written:

adu unnuḍaya pen
that you(non-hon.)dat. pen

Spoken:

adɯ onnuḍʌya pɛn
that is your pen

But, in Mudaliar's Tamil speech, only the vowel **u** is adopted in this place even during pronunciation.

The variations found at the phonological level are cited below.

1) Word initial voicing.
2) Loss of word final **-m**.
3) Lengthening of word final **-a**.
4) 'Eye pronunciation' of word final diphthong **-ai**.
5) Pronunciation of vowel **o**.

2.8. Grammatical Level

Under this section some of the grammatical features used by the Mudaliars in their Tamil speech which has similarity with Kannada but deviated by the Tamil pattern are given. It is argued that these resultant grammatical features have converged into the Tamil system from Kannada due to the impact of the latter. Following are some of the features discussed.

1) Usage of exclusive and inclusive pronouns.
2) Phenomenon of pronominalization.

3) Notion of future.
4) Use of affirmation and interrogation.
5) Verb conjugation
6) Negation.

2.8.1. Exclusive and Inclusive Pronouns

The exclusive and inclusive pronouns used in Tamil are **na:ṅga** and **na:ma** respectively. Present day Kannada does not make this distinction and it uses only **na:vu** to express both the exclusive and inclusive notion. Only the context can make the meaning explicit. However, old Kannada, had this distinction and the forms used were **na:m** with inclusive denotation and **naṅgaḷu** with exclusive denotation. Mudaliars in their form of Tamil speech often seem to be using the pronoun **nammaḷ** or **na:mba** extensively to convey both the meanings. The selection of the pronoun among these two are arbitrary. *So far no conditioning factor is observed.* However, it is observed that those who are in the lower economic strata often prefer to use **na:mba** rather than **nammaḷ**. However the validity of this statement can be assertained only after a thorough investigation. It is interesting to note that most of the Mudaliars are aware that Tamil demarcate between these two pronominal categories. However, the demarcating usage is not practiced. Probably this type of simplicity in usage may be due to the constant impact of the contact language where this distinction is not maintained. Following examples will give the usage of both these pronouns in Tamil, Kannada and Mudaliars Tamil.

Tamil

```
1) na:ṅga      ella:rũ sinima:kku    po:Rõ
   we(excl.)    all    cinema(dat.)  go (P.T)
    'we are all going to cinema'

2) na:ma       ellarũ sinima:kku  po:la:ma:?
   we(incl.) all    cinema(dat.) go shall we?
    'shall we all go to cinema?'

3) na:ma       sinima:kku    po:la:ma:?
   we(incl.) cinema(dat.) go shall we?
    'shall we go to cinema?'
```

Kannada

```
4) na:vu                  ella sinima:kku    hogutteve
   we(incl.) (excl.) all cinema(dat.) go shall we?
    'shall we all go to cinema?'

5) na:vu                   sinima:kku    hogutteve
   we(incl.) (excl.) cinema(dat.) go (P.T)
    'we are going to cinema
```

Mudaliar Tamil

```
6) na:mba/nammaḷ alsurile    irukkuRo
   we(incl.)       ulsur(loc.) there (P.T)
    'we are in Ulsur'

7) nammaḷ              kiṭṭe     ẽ:  ke:kkale
   we(incl.)(excl.)              why ask-neg.
    'why you did not ask us?'

8) nammaḷ                    ellarũ sinima:kku    po:Ro
   we(incl.) (excl.)  all    cinema(dat.) go (P.T)
    'we are going to cinema'

9) nammaḷ                    ellarũ sinima:kku    po:kalama:?
   we(incl.) (excl.) all    cinema(dat.) go shall we
    'shall we go to cinema?'
```

From the above examples, sentences (8) and (9) very closely indicate the exclusive and inclusive notion of the same pronoun **nammaḷ**. That is, sentence (8) reveals the nature of the pronoun only through the context whereas sentence (9) explicitly shows that it includes

the listener because that is the question put to the listener for his willingness to join the speaker to go to the movie with him. Exactly similar situation prevails in Kannada when we look at the following Kannada sentence.

10) na:vu sinima:kke hogonava?
we cinema(dat.) go shall we
'shall we go to cinema?'

Although pronoun used in sentence (10) clearly includes the listener, the exact meaning of the pronoun used in sentence (5) is context bound.

2.8.2. Pronominalisation

The impact of the dominant contact language (Kannada) is noticed if one observers the frequency of usage of the pronominalised forms by the Mudaliars in their Tamil speech. To cite an illustration, the pronouns with possessive case marker **-uḍaya** is extensively used in Tamilnadu Tamil.

avanuḍaya	'his'
ennuḍaya	'mine'
unnuḍaya	'yours'
adanuḍaya	'its'

Although this is the widely accepted standard Tamil usage, in different parts of Tamilnadu, in colloquial usage such constructions are used in the prononminalised form, viz.,

avandu	'his'
endu	'mine'

undu	'yours'
adandu	'its'

In the above cited pronominalised usage, the morpheme **-du** is the corresponding pronominal termination or personal termination. As explained earlier, though this type of usage is prevalent in Tamilnadu, it is less frequent and generally not observed in the standard spoken variety of Tamil.

In the place of the above Tamil categories, spoken Kannada frequently uses the following forms.

avandu	'his'
nandu	'mine'
nindu	'yours (non-hon.)'
nimdu	'your (hon.)'
adandu	'its'

Written Kannada has

avanadu
nannadu
ninnadu
nimmadu
adaradu

with an explicit possessive case marker.

In MT, it is always noted that the pronominalised usage is in practice which is totally on par with the usage observed in Kannada. As stated earlier, though Mudaliars are affluent with the Tamil written system and writings, they have adopted the simplified pronominal usage which may be due to the direct influence of the dominant contact language.

2.8.3. Notion of Future

The notion of future too has some distinctive characters between Kannada and Tamil. In modern Kannada, there is no overt marker to denote the notion of future. Instead only present is denoted. Whereas in Tamil all the three tenses are explicitly marked. Following examples may be considered for comparison.

Tamil

1) nã: ne:RRu vandẽ
   I yesterday came (P.T)
   'I came yesterday'

2) nã: ippa varRẽ
   I now come (P.T)
   'I am coming now'

3) nã: na:ḷe varuvẽ
   I tomorrow come (P.T)
   'I will come tomorrow'

Kannada

4) ninne na:nu bande
   yesterday I came (P.T)
   'I came yesterday'

5) na:nu i:ge bartini
   I now come (P.T)
   'I am coming now'

6) na:nu na:ḷe bartini
   I tomorrow come (P.T)
   'I will come tomorrow'

However, in spoken Tamil sometimes it is observed that if an assertion, like 'I will come tomorrow' is made, both future and present tenses are used by the same speaker. But the selection is an arbitrary one. Both the type of sentences, such as,

7) nā̃: na:ḷe varuvẽ: (future)
I tomorrow come (P.T)

and

nā̃: na:ḷė var Rė (present)
I tomorrow come (P.T)

are accepted by the Tamil speaker as grammatical. But in Mudaliar's Tamil, future tense is never used in such circumstances. The expression is made only in present tense. Also in the other type of expressions also future is totally merged with the present tense. Thus making a common non-past category on par with Kannada.

Mudaliar Tamil

8) na:ḷe nã varRẽ
tomorrow I come (P.T)
'tomorrow I will come'

9) aḍutta ma:sõ na: avane pa:kRẽ
next month I he(acc.) see (P.T)
'I will see him next month'

10) ẽ sakotarẽ varRã
my brother come (P.T)
'my brother will come'

Another phenomenon which has shown direct impact of the dominant contact language over Mudaliar's Tamil is the type of answering. In Mudaliar's Tamil the answer to a call is made in past even before the action is actually started. This of course shows the certainty of the listener's acknowledgement of the call and simultaneous action. This type of usage involving past tense before the completion of the action is commonly observed in Kannada and totally absent in Tamil. Examples:

Mudaliar's Tamil

1) **A** : ra:ma: iṅge va: 'come here Rama'
o:Rama here come

B : vande (past)
come(P.T)

Tamil

2) **A** : ra:ma: iṅge va:

B : varRě (present)
come(P.T)

Kannada

3) **A** : ra:ma: ba:

B : bande (past)
came(P.T)

Kannada uses both the forms **bartini** (present) and **bande** (past). The selection of a particular form depends on the urgency of the action followed. For instance, if the past form is used the action is followed immediately, whereas for a delayed action **bartini** is used. But Tamil never used the past tense in the similar situation.

2.8.4. Affirmation and Interrogation

The affirmative sentence used as reply to a question is **a:ma** 'yes' in Tamil and **haudu** in Kannada. On the contrary, if an affirmative or interrogative sentence expresses the listener's doubt or if the listerner is exclaimed about the statement the usual interrogative form used in Tamil is **appaḍiya** 'is it so' and **hauda** in Kannada. Consider the following sentences.

Tamil

1) **Q :** avẽ aṅge po:rana:?
he there go (PT) interr.

A : a:ma 'yes' or appaḍiya? 'is it so?'

Kannada

2) **Q :** avanu allige hoguttana:?
'is he going there?'

A: haudu: 'yes' or hauda:? 'is it so?'

Tamil

3) avẽ tiḍi:runu kalya:ṇõ paṇṇiṭṭã
he suddenly marriage did

appaḍiya? 'is it so?'

Kannada

4) avanu idukkidage maduve ma:ḍu koṇḍa
'he got married suddenly'

All the above four sentences can follow either affirmative **a:ma** (Ta.); **haudu** (Ka.) expression depending upon the listener's knowledge about the question or statement. But, in Tamil two different forms are used, viz., **a:ma** to express one's consent and **appaḍiya** to express one's ignorance about the statement, whereas in Kannada the basic form is **haaudu** for both. By adding an interrogative marker **-a:** to the base form **haudu** the sentence is transferred into an exclamatory utterance in Kannada.

As against the pattern of usage in Tamil cited above, Mudaliar's Tamil has only one base form **a:ma** thus following the Kannada structure. While it is used to express the notion of ignorance or exclamation,

the interrogative marker **-a:** is added to the base form as found in Kannada. Thus the resultant form will be **a:mava:** with a morphophonemic change following the general morphophonemic rule

$$\emptyset \longrightarrow v \Big/ \begin{array}{l} a \text{ ---- } \& \quad a \\ i \text{ ---- } \& \quad a \end{array}$$

common to both the languages.

2.8.5. Verb Conjugation

A peculiar type of innovative future conjugation of Tamil verbs which take **-p-** as future marker is noticed in Mudaliar Tamil. Generally all the -**i** and **-a** ending verbs in Tamil take **-p-** as the future marker. Along with this some verbs ending with -**r** also take **-p-** as the future marker in Tamil. Corresponding Kannada verbs are taking **-uva** as the future marker. For example:

Tamil	*Kannada*	*Gloss*
pa:ppa:ṅga	no:ḍuvaru	'they will see'
aḍippa:ṅga	hoḍeyuvaru	'they will beat'
piḍippa:ṅga	hiḍiyuvaru	'they will hold'
naḍappa:ṅga	naḍeyuvaru	'they will walk'
paḍippa:ṅga	kaliyuvaru	'they will read'
naḍippa:ṅga	naṭisuvaru	'they will act'

In Mudaliar's Tamil speech, all the Tamil verb roots cited above are used but the future marker resembles the Kannada pattern, while using the verbs with future notion. However, in all the cases Tamil **-pp-** is replaced by **-kk-** with a following **-u** glide. This may be due to the direct influence of Kannada where

similar type of future conjugation is available.

Mudaliar Tamil

pa:kkuva:ṅga	'they will see'
aḍikkuva:ṅga	'they will beat'
piḍikkuva:ṅga	'they will hold'
niḍikkuva:ṅga	'they will act'
naḍakkuva:ṅga	'they will walk'
padikkuva:ṅga	'they will read'

2.8.6. Negation

As opposed to the complicated negative formation observed in Bangalore Iyengar's Tamil due to the influence of Kannada, Mudaliar's Tamil retains mainly the Tamilnadu Tamil pattern with very little exception. When we look into the negative formation of both Kannada and Tamil, we can observe that certain tenses are neutralised in these languages. For example, in Tamil, present tense and past tense are neutralised whereas in Kannada present tense and future tense are neutralised. Following are the examples involving past and future negative constructions found both in Kannada and Tamil.

Tamil

1) avẽ ne:RRu enne pa:kkale
he yesterday I(acc.) see(neg.)
'he did not see me yesterday'

2) avẽ innũ varale
he so far come(neg.)
'he did not come so far'

3) avẽ na:ḷe enne pa:kka ma:ṭṭã
he tomorrow I(acc.) see (neg.)
'he will not see me tomorrow'

Kannada

4) avanu nine nannannu noḍalilla
he yesterday I(acc.) see(neg.)
'he did not see me yesterday'

5) illivaregu avanannu noḍilla
till today he(acc.) see(neg.)
'I have not seen him till now'

6) na:ḷe avanu nannanna noḍuvudilla
tomorrow he I(acc.) see(neg.)
'he will not see me tomorrow'

The past negative construction in Tamil consists of verb stem + infinitive suffix **-a** and the negative suffix **-le**.

paḍikk-a-le 'did not study'

Future negative in Tamil is formed by replacing the negative marker **-ma:ṭṭ** in the place of **-le**.

paḍikk-a-ma:ṭṭẽ 'I will not study'

Kannada has also the similar construction as found in Tamil. That is, past negative construction consists of verb stem + infinitive marker **-al** + the negative marker **-illa**.

bar-al-illa (past) 'did not come'

Also, the past negative construction is formed by the addition of past participle form and the negative marker.

band-illa 'did not come'

The past negative construction found in Mudaliar's Tamil is converged to the Kannada construction, that is, the negative marker **-ille** is added to the past

participle form. This type of construction is not known to Tamilnadu Tamil. However, as opposed to Iyengar's Tamil, Mudaliar's speech variety does not use this type of construction more frequently. In short both the type of past negative constructions, viz., **vandilla** and **varale** are in use. Though linguistically there is no conditioning factor involved in the selection of the negative construction, one can observe certain sociological factors involved during the grammatical choice pertaining to the negative construction. Two situation bound perspectives are identified. They are:

1) Social context -
   (i) Formal
   (ii) Informal
2) Extent of exposure and interest of the person concerned in knowing or maintaining the mother tongue (Tamil).

(1) Social context: It is observed that in a homogenous group involving only Mudaliars, or in the domain of family, mostly the type of construction **vandilla** is used with very less exception to the other construction. Whereas while talking to a Tamilian or to a person belongs to other Tamil speaking community generally the participle + negative type of construction is avoided. The preference is given to infinitive + negative type of construction which is more dominant in Tamilnadu Tamil.

(2) Another factor, in this kind of selection depends on the linguistic background of the **person**

who uses. For instance, among Mudaliars who are not having sufficient competence over the language skills (reading and writing) in Tamil always towards the selection of participle + negative construction. Because of these sociological factors involved in the choice of the negative construction one can think that such duality in usage may be due to their exposure to the Tamil writing system and also the simultaneous exposure to the Kannada environment.

Mudaliar Tamil

Formal:

```
1) avẽ ne:RRu    varale
   he  yesterday come(neg.)
     'he did not come yesterday'
```

Informal:

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2) avẽ ne:RRu    vandille
   he  yesterday come(neg.)
     'he did not come yesterday'
```

For this study we have considered mainly three variables. They are:

1) Period of stay,
2) Economic status, and
3) Education.

Among the three variables as stated earlier informants were selected from the families whose ancestors have migrated to Bangalore at last two generations ago. But other variables, such as economic status and education seem to have little effect on convergent feature. The overall conditioning factor for language convergence seem to be the attitude towards the mother

tongue . In this situation, irrespective of the education and economic status of the Mudaliars, most of them have positive attitude towards their mother tongue Tamil. As a result of that, the convergent features found in their Tamil is much less when compared to the Iyengar's Tamil.

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COMPARISON

While comparing the Tamil spoken by the Iyengars and Mudaliars settled in Bangalore, it is worthwhile exploring the location in which both the communities live and their broad socio-cultural background in a more systematic and detailed manner. Moreover, a micro-level analysis covering every minute details can show useful results on the reasons why the two communities fall apart of certain respects though they are in similar language contact situation. At the outset although the two communities live in the same linguistic and cultural environment for many centuries, it is quite interesting to observe certain radical differences as well as some commonness.

3.1. Background of the Informants

The informants belonging to Iyengars and Mudaliars have been selected after careful scrutiny to fulfil certain conditions, such as:

1) They should have settled for a minimum period of two generations in Bangalore.
2) The informants were selected mainly from two age groups, viz., (a) younger generation [age below 35] and (b) older generation [age above 40].

This selectional procedure was to have a time gap for a synchronic analysis of the speech variety of the two communities at a given period in order to find out the nature and extent of linguistic convergence or variation experienced in their respective speech varieties owing to the constant influence of the dominant contact language (Kannada).

If we see the migrating history of the two communities, one can find that both the communities have migrated to Bangalore almost at the same period. Also, they had come from different parts of Tamilnadu mainly from Tirunelveli, Arcot, Madras and Tanjore districts. It was found that Mudaliars are able to speak, read and write Tamil fluently. Moreover, even from the beginning they are spread over the length and breadth of the city. Though there are certain areas in the city where they are found in concentrated pockets, like Malleswaram, Ulsoor, etc. Malleswaram has mainly Iyengars and in Ulsoor a generally mixed Tamil population live which includes Mudaliars also. Most of the Iyengars cannot read and write Tamil though they have similar facilities as that of Mudaliars, for the retention of their ancestral language. This can be attributed to the overall attitude towards their mother tongue.

It is interesting to note that the opportunities to use Tamil is not making any considerable impact on the Tamil used by both the communities. For example, it is not correct to say that those who stay in

concentrated Tamil localities having the possibilities of greater in group contact with the Tamil speaking population speak pure and less influenced language than their counterparts who stay in sporadic localities with less chance to mix with Tamil population for day-to-day interaction; rather the purity of the mother tongue is directly proportionate to the following sociolinguistic features, via.,

1) Language loyalty towards the mother tongue.
2) Language attitude towards the mother tongue.
3) Language use particularly the opportunity to read the Tamil literature including magazines from Tamilnadu.

A brief discussion of these three points follows:

1) Language Loyalty:

Iyengars in general have given up their mother tongue for Kannada. This is all the more true of the Iyengars from the higher socio-economic strata who prefer to claim that they are Kannadigas rather than Tamilians. But, some of the older generation still use Tamil in the family domain though the response of the younger generation to the Tamil of their parents is either in English or in Kannada. Among the lower and middle socio-economic groups also, almost a similar situation prevails. But, when compared to the former group (i.e., higher socio-economic class) the latter two groups are trying to maintain Tamil more. Still the use of Tamil is dwindling day-by-day. This situation is mainly due to the fact that most of the Iyengars feel that they should send their children to the Kannada

medium or English medium schools. Further they do not encourage their children to study Tamil even at the home privately, as they have identified their economic interest with that of the Kannadigas for which they have to compete with the local Kannadigas.

2) Language Attitude:

The zero attitude towards the mother tongue led Iyengars to the total linguistic as well as cultural assimilation with the local Kannada language and culture. Two socio-political reasons can be attributed for such kind of assimilation.

(i) Positive attitude towards Tamil and its development can lead the community, no where as long as they are in Bangalore. Also, they have no intention to return to Tamilnadu, since most of the Iyengars are employed in various private or public organizations in and around Bangalore. The language used for day-to-day interaction is either Kannada or English. Therefore, the use of Tamil is highly restricted to limited settings only.

(ii) Recent socio-political developments towards the state language policy further accelerated this process of the community for not identifying themselves with Tamil speaking population, even though the local Kannada population continue to identify the Iyengars as Tamilians. Thus, it is evident that the total acceptance of the migrant community by the dominant community is not effected completely in spite of the efforts of the migrant community (Iyengars).

3) Language Use:

It is clear from the preceding sections (1) and (2) that the loss of language loyalty and zero attitude towards the mother tongue obviously lead the community towards the lesser language use. As a result, they are not very particular about reading the newspaper and other magazines written in Tamil though they have ample opportunities in Bangalore to read the Tamil literature from Tamilnadu. These are the main contributing factors for the extent of admixture and convergent features found in their Tamil speech.

On the contrary, if we examine and compare the Mudaliars community with Iyengars, we can observe that Mudaliars are just the reverse in every respect. Such radical change in their behaviour may be viewed in the perspective of their language attitude and occupation. As against Iyengars, most of the Mudaliars are engaged in private business. Those who are in the private business are not very much concerned about the socio-political pressures exerted on them for the use of the dominant language. However, most of the Mudaliars are having good knowledge in Kannada and some persons even write poems and novels in Kannada. In spite of that they are having total positive attitude towards Tamil. In many houses, one can find that they are subscribing to at least a couple of Tamil magazines in addition to Kannada magazines. Also, among the older generation most of them have studied through Tamil medium or English medium, Even if they had

their education through English or Kannada medium the interesting factor is that they have studied Tamil privately at home and could attain the minimum knowledge in Tamil. This knowledge in Tamil is further developed through their constant contact with the other members of the community during the time of religious or cultural functions or through the Tamil association. The utilization of Tamil magazines and their positive attitude towards their mother tongue has definitely reflected on their language. This is evident from the type of Tamil they use.

As far as the younger generation is concerned, they have certain disparity with the elders. That is, owing to the recent socio-political developments in the state in favour of the dominant language, most of the children are studying either through Kannada medium or through English medium. As a result, the numbers in Tamil medium schools are becoming lesser. However, these children are also taught Tamil privately at home. In addition to that, the Tamil Sangam in Bangalore plays a remarkable role in the areas of maintaining Tamil by the Tamil native speakers settled in Bangalore. Though Tamil Sangam has members from all the communities found in Bangalore, such as Iyengars, Mudaliars, Padayachi, Christians, etc., we can find Mudaliars in general are taking active step in its growth and possess some key posts in the Sangam. As against the active membership by the Mudaliars in the Sangam Iyengars are not very much active in its

activities. However, they are only the passive members of the Sangam. In addition, to this Sangam's multifarious activities, such as teaching Kannada to non-Kannadigas, conducting dancing classes, lending Tamil and Kannada books, they are also conducting Tamil classes for those who do not know to read and write Tamil. This facility is extended mainly to Tamils who have settled in Bangalore and have lost their mother tongue. But, very less Iyengars are found taking this free course offered by the Sangam. On the contrary Mudaliars and other Tamil communities settled in Bangalore are utilising this opportunity very much in case they do not know to read and write Tamil.

3.2. Contact With Tamilnadu

Though Tamilnadu border is only a few kilometers away from Bangalore City (Hosur is only 40 Km. away) and the capital of Tamilnadu is only a four to five hours journey from Bangalore, it is surprising to note that Iyengars in general are having less contact or even no contact at all with the motherland. On the contrary Mudaliars keep a close contact with Tamilnadu. Iyengars claim that though their relatives are living in Madras, they have a very little contact with them. But, in certain cases marriages have been performed between Iyengars settled in Bangalore and Iyengars living in Madras. After such marriages the Tamilnadu Iyengars always complain about the Bangalore Iyengar's ignorance of Tamil. But, it is observed that this

problem is easily solved by the concerned person by studying Tamil. As opposed to Iyengars, Mudaliars are having constant contact with the mainland. Marriage relationship with the Mudaliars living in Madras is also maintained quite frequently. Not only that, for the purpose of business, many Mudaliars often visit Madras. As stated earlier, in section 2.1. of the chapter on Mudaliar's Tamil, even now one can find the names of Mudaliar's house as 'Arcot house', etc. This clearly indicates the place from which they migrated long ago and also their attachment towards their ancestral place. In spite of their positive attitude towards their own language, they are not against studying the dominant regional language; rather most of them are bilinguals in Kannada and Tamil. Moreover, both the communities are well aware that their knowledge of Kannada is essential for the betterment of the community as a whole, since they are in a dominant language situation where the use of Kannada in all the domains is essential and without it once own existence is questioned.

3.3. Religious Reading

We have seen earlier that Iyengars occasionally use Tamil in the family domain, but with greater influence of Kannada. As far as the religious reading habits of Iyengars are concerned, they continue to read the traditional religious book **na:la:yira divya prabandam,** but in Kannada script whereas even today this religious text written in Tamil is being used

by their counterparts living in Tamilnadu. So, it is clear that the Iyengars read Tamil in Kannada script. Further, it is learnt that most of them do not have word-to-word comprehension of Tamil scriptures written in Kannada script.

3.4. Phonological Level

3.4.1. Devoicing

At the phonological level both the communities are maintaining intervocalic voiceless sounds as against the Tamil phonological system. Though both the communities tend to use intervocalically voiceless sounds, the frequency of such voiceless nature of the sound in Mudaliar's speech is much less when compared to BIT. Also, while speaking formally to a Tamilian or in semi-formal occasions, Mudaliars clearly use voiced sound intervocalically. Only when they are speaking fast in a more informal situation, voiceless sound is uttered. Moreover, the words in which such voiceless sounds occur are generally borrowed lexical items from Kannada or common vocabulary items to both Kannada and Tamil. As explained above, though Mudaliar's Tamil strictly fit into the frame of BIT in this respect, the distinction maintained by the Mudaliar's in choosing the voiced variety in intervocalic position similar to Tamil while speaking to a Tamilian shows that they are quite aware of even such minute details. This shows the impact of their exposure to Tamil writings as against the Iyengars who are generally not aware of the Tamil writing system.

Other phonological feature common both to MT and BIT are the presence of word initial voicing. In both the varieties of speech, in addition to the words common to both Tamil and Kannada, certain other words are also used with word initial voicing.

BIT

Tamil	*Kannada*	*BIT*	*Gloss*
ka:raṇam	ka:raṇa	ga:raṇa	'reason'
pu:cci	bu:cci	bu:cci	'insect'

Mudaliar Tamil

Tamil	*Kannada*	*MT*	*Gloss*
ta:ṇḍu	da:ṭṭu	da:ṇḍu	'to cross over'
pu:cci	bu:cci	bu:cci	'insect'

In MT, word final **a** is lengthened in the interrogative pronoun **enna**. This is not observed in BIT. Tamilnadu Tamil does not show similar type of lengthening. This particular phonological feature is peculiar to MT, becuase in Kannada too this is not observed. Because of the lengthening of this vowel, the intonation of MT considerably changes especially while in a sentence where interrogative pronoun is used. Owing to the presence of long vowel at the end of this interrogative pronoun, more stress is placed at the vowel which results into the change in the overall intonation pattern of the sentence as against Tamilnadu Tamil.

The impact of reading habits in Tamil and their non-exposure to the standard colloquial Tamil of Tamilnadu have led the Mudaliars to observe certain features

which are used exclusively in writing and not available in the spoken Tamil. In short, in certain places, the diglossic situation in Tamiul is not properly adhered to by the Mudaliars. For instance, the written form of words ending with the diphthong **ai** is by using an orthographic symbol equivalent to **ai**. Whereas, while speaking only the front lower mid open vowel ɛ is used. It is observed that Mudaliars always use the written form.

Another interesting area to distinguish both the speech varieties is the availability of the short mid central unrounded vowel ə. This vowel is not found in the Tamilnadu Tamil whereas the presence of this vowel is attested in the Kannada spoken in Bangalore. In the speech variety of Iyengars this vowel is found in the word initial position and occurs frequently. It displaces mainly the front unrounded vowels **a** and **e** of Tamil in the word initial position.

Tamil	*BIT*	*Gloss*
aṅge	əṅge	'there'
epḍi	əpḍitta	'what kind'
enakku	ənakku	'for me'

In MT this vowel is not observed. The pronunciation of these words in MT compromises with the Tamilnadu Tamil.

In the lexical level MT mainly includes only the cognate words that too nouns from Kannada. Whereas, in Iyengar's speech it is observed that in addition to many lexical borrowings Kannada verbs and nouns

are also borrowed. Also, in some cases Tamil verb roots take Kannada inflection and vice versa.

Mudaliar Tamil

1) **giḷi** ku:ṇḍule irukku
parrot cage(loc.) there
'parrot is in the cage'

2) anda bu:cciye puḍi
that insect(acc.) catch
'catch that insect'

In the above examples taken from the speech samples from Mudaliars, it is seen that the lexical items, viz., **giḷi** and **bu:cci** are borrowed from Kannada and this type of lexical inclusion is not so frequent when compared to BIT.

BIT

1) ava **etru**
she tall
'she is tall'

2) paṭṣi en tale me:le **ha:riddu**
bird my head over flew
'bird flew over my head'

3) duṭṭu **va:pas** kuḍu
money return give
'return (my) money'

4) **marattunnu** eleyella viḷRina
tree(acc.) leaves all fall
'leaves are falling from the tree'

5) na:nu onye **aḍittini**
I you(acc.) beat(P.T)
'I will beat you'

In the above mentioned sentences, the underlined forms are borrowed from Kannada. In sentence (5) the verb **aḍi**, basically a Tamil verb has taken the

termination **-ini** from Kannada. Such kind of inflectional inclusion in BIT reveals the extent of change taken place in the Iyengar's speech.

3.5. Cases

The extent of language contact has been clearly visualised if we examine the different case markers used by the Iyengars which are in contrast with the pattern of use by Mudaliars. MT strictly adheres the use of case markers as found in Tamilnadu. In other words, MT uses the similar type of cases used in the Tamilnadu Tamil. If we examine the BIT, it is possible to observe that in most of the sentences a sort of duality is noticed with regards to the selection of case markers. That is, BIT uses the case suffixes used in Tamil and Kannada. The interesting feature is that such selection of case markers are arbitrary and used by a single speaker at different times without any conditioning factor related to environment or to different sociolinguistic settings. Following are some of the case suffixes used in BIT.

Sl. No.	Cases		Kannada	Tamilnadu Tamil	BIT	Mudaliar Tamil
1.	Accusative	...	-annu	-ai	-ye	-ai
2.	Locative	...	-alli	-il	-le	-il
3.	Dative	...	-kke, -ige	-kk(u)	-kku, -ge	-kk(u)
4.	Ablative	...	-inda	-lerundu	-ina, -anu	-lirundu
5.	Genitive	...	-a	-uḍaya	-de, ḍa	-uḍaya

From the above Table it is evident that MT is

closely following Tamilnadu Tamil in the usage of case suffixes, whereas a considerable similarities are attested between BIT and Kannada. Also, the usage of dative case is in a more fluid state in BIT obviously owing to the contact and influence of the dominant language.

3.6. Negation

More complicated nature of negative formation which is observed in BIT as a result of Kannada influence is not fully attested in MIT. Generally MT observes the Tamilnadu Tamil negative formation. However, MT also uses the similar structure of negative sentences closer to Kannada and totally unaware in Tamilnadu Tamil. But, this type of usage in MT following Kannada pattern is context bound, that is, Mudaliars are aware of the negative sentence structure of both Tamilnadu Tamil and their own speech variety. The selection of the particular sentence structure mainly depends on with whom they interact. For instance, while the Mudaliars are interacting with Tamil native speakers from Tamilnadu, they use Tamil pattern and while they are talking to their own community people the sentence structure follows the negative sentence pattern closer to Kannada. This type of conditional usage is not at all observed among Iyengars. As explained earlier, this type of context bound usage explicitly states two things, namely, (a) exposure to Tamil writing system and (b) the community's competence over the system. As far as the Iyengars are concerned, though they

are also having ample chances to learn Tamil writing system, they are totally neglecting to learn. This type of total ignorance led to the extent of convergent features from the dominant contact language.

The type of negative construction observed both in BIT and in MT which is not available in Tamilnadu Tamil but present in Kannada can be attributed to the influence of Kannada. For examples:

1) na:ṅga innu **pa:ttille**
past participle + negative
'we have not seen yet'

2) ave ne:RRu **vandille**
past participle + negative
'he did not come yesterday'

In the above constructions, Tamilnadu Tamil uses **pa:kkale** and **varale** which are formed by the addition of negative marker with infinitive form. Among Mudaliars speech both these forms are present whereas BIT has only the negative construction formed by past participle + negative.

3.7. Conclusion

The remarkable deviation between the Tamil used by Mudaliars and Iyengars settled in Bangalore is clearly attributed to the respective communities' attitude towards their mother tongue. It is evident from the present study that Mudaliars are maintaining Tamil in all the domains and they have a strong positive attitude towards Tamil. As opposed to Mudaliars, Iyengars are having neutral attitude towards their mother tongue and as a result their language has

experienced more linguistic assimilation towards the dominant language. Though Mudaliars have retained and maintained their mother tongue to a greater extent, the present socio-political pressures exerted on the linguistic minorities and the compulsory use of Kannada in different areas in the state have made a considerable impact on the community as a whole. Thus they are in a dichotomy between the maintenance of their own language Tamil on the one hand and the threat to total assimilation towards the dominant language on the other. This is evident from the fact that the numerical strength of the students offering to go to Tamil medium schools are decreasing year by year. However, at this stage it is not possible to say on what direction the speech variety of Mudaliars move because of their positive attitude towards their mother tongue.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The Iyengars are very much fluent in Kannada because they have studied through Kannada medium schools and have native like control over Kannada. Moreover, when asked, they say that they are more at ease in Kannada than in Tamil during the day-to-day interaction.

2. Tamil spoken by the Iyengars has taken into its system many features from Kannada which results in a minimal intelligibility to a Tamil speaker from Tamilnadu.

3. The Iyengars might have migrated from different dialectal areas of Tamilnadu centuries ago and thus we cannot rule out the dialectal retentions. However, in the absence of any such intra group dialectal variations, it is understood that a sort of post migration dialectal levelling might have taken place. For the purpose of comparison, we have taken as far as possible the standard spoken Tamil which is acceptable to the whole of Tamilnadu. In addition to that we have looked into the Brahmin dialect of Tamilnadu too for identifying certain features because some similarity is noticed between the dialect spoken by the Brahmins in Tamilnadu and the BIT.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Following are the sample data in broad transcription as used by the Iyengars of Bangalore City.

1. idu na:yi	'this is dog'
2. aṅge reṇḍu nayi ikkiRna	'two dogs are there'
3. idu pu:ne	'this is cat'
4. iṅge reṇḍu pu:nege ikkiRna	'two cats are here'
5. iṅge oru pu:ne oru na:yi ikkiRna	'one cat and one dog are here'
6. idu ha:ttu	'this is house'
7. aṅge reṇḍ ma:du ikkiRna	'two cows are there'
8. idu eṇḍe ha:ttuge	'these are my houses'
9. idu ava:ḷḍe ha:ttu	'this is her house'
10. ava:ḷḍe ha:ttuge	'her houses'
11. oṇḍe ha:ttuge	'your houses'
12. na:n eṇḍe ha:ttule ikkiRe	'I am in my house'
13. eṇḍe ha:ttuku po:	'go to my house'
14. eṇḍe ha:ttu cindu	'my house is small'
15. inde añju eṇḍe ha:ttu	'these five are my houses'
16. enku reṇḍu ha:ttuge ikkiRna	'I have two houses'
17. eṇḍe pustkaṅge iṅge ikkiRna	'my books are here'
18. na:nu eṇḍe mañjattule ikkiRe	'I am in my cot'
19. adu eṇḍe appa	'he is my father'
20. eṇḍe kiṭṭa oru pustako ikkiRna	'I have one book with me'

21. eṇḍe kiṭṭa reṇḍ pustako ikkiRna — 'I have two books with me'

22. eṇḍe kiṭṭa mu:ṇ pustako ikkiRna — 'I have three books with me'

23. eṇḍe pustako ha:ttle inda/ikkiRna — 'my book is in the house'

24. eṇḍe pustakaṅge ha:ttle ikkiRna — 'my books are in the house'

25. avo ava:ḷḍe puḷḷe — 'he is her son'

26. avaḷella avaṇḍe pasaṅge — 'they are his sons'

27. avaḷḍe pasaṅge hallile ikkiRa — 'her sons are in the village'

28. oṇḍe pasaṅge vandirukkiRa — 'your sons have come'

29. ava eṇḍe amma — 'she is my mother'

30. avaḷukku mu:ṇ peṇ pasaṅge ikkiRna — 'she hsa three daughters'

31. avaṇḍa peṇ pasaṅge aṅge ikkiRa — 'his daughters are there'

32. oṇḍe peṇṇiye ku:ḍu — 'call your daughter'

33. adu oṇḍe taṅgeva? — 'is she your sister?'

34. ille ava eṇḍe taṅge ille — 'no, she is not my sister'

35. eṇḍe aṇṇa apRo akka ella ha:ttule ikkiRa — 'my brothers and sisters are in the house'

36. avaḷukku mu:ṇ pasaṅga ikkiRa — 'she has three sons'

37. avoṇḍe pasaṅgella cinnava: — 'his children are small'

38. oṇḍe pasaṅge eṅge? — 'where are your children?'

39. eṇḍe pasaṅgella schoolle ikkiRna — 'my children are in the school'

40. eṇḍe tambikella:ru cinnava — 'my brothers are all young'

41. avaṇḍe pasaṅgaḷu iṅge ikkiRa — 'his sons are also here'

42. idu uṇḍe ka:lu — 'this is your leg'

43. inde pustakaṅgella oṇḍedu — 'these books are all yours'

44. na: oneya na:ḷekku pa:kkoRo — 'we see you tomorrow'

45. avo innekki pa:kRanu — 'he sees (me) today'

46. paslu avanye pa:kRaṅa — 'the child sees him'

47. adu eṇḍe ka:ryo annu — 'this is not my work'

48. paslḍe kayyi romba cinnadu — 'the hands of the child are small'

49. avo ha:tle ikkiRna — 'he is in the house'

50. pasuṅgella avavaḷḍe ha:ttule ikkiRna — 'the children are in their respective houses'

51. ava paseleya pa:kRa	'she sees the child'
52. avo iṅge vaRa	'he comes here'
53. ava iṅge vaRa	'she comes here'
54. naan aṅge po:Re	'I go there'
55. avo eṇḍe kiṭṭe varanu	'he comes to me'
56. ava eṅgaḷḍe ha:ttukku vaRa	'she comes to our house'
57. ni:nu ha:ttukku po:Re	'I go to the house'
58. na:ṅge iṅge nikkiRo	'we stand here'
59. eleyella marattina ki:ḷe viḷRina	'the leaves of the tree fall down'
60. ne:ttikku marattuna eleyella vuḷnduḍtu	'yesterday the leaves of the tree fell down'
61. marattunnu eleyella vuḷRuna	'the leaves fall from the tree'
62. paṭṣige maratmel ukkarna	'the birds sit on the tree'
63. paṭṣi maratmel ukkarna	'the bird sits on the tree'
64. avo marattukiḷe tu:ṅkiRanu	'he sleeps under the tree'
65. ma:ḍu pul sa:pṭkunu nikkiRna	'the cows are grazing'
66. dino pa:l kaRakkiRo na:ṅge	'we milk the cow daily'
67. ava dina da:ṭRa	'she jumps over daily'
68. ava aṅge ninnikRa	'she stands there'
69. anda pasalu aṅge ukka:ndinda	'that child is sitting there'
70. anda cinna pa:pa aṅge ukka:ndinda	'that small child is sitting there'
71. oṇḍe pe:ru enna	'what is your name'
72. enakku ȧmbadu varṣo ai:ccu	'I am fifty years now'
73. ni: eṅge ikRa?	'where do you live'
74. na:nu to:ṭṭatlule ka:ryo paṇRe	'I work in the field'
75. avo iṅge ikRanu	'he is here'
76. adu iṅge anda	'it is here'
77. ava iṅge ikRa	'she is here'
78. anda na:yige iṅge anda	'those dogs are here'
79. enakku vayasu a:yipo:ccu	'I am old'
80. ava ettru	'she is tall'

81. avo ettru	'he is tall'
82. ava ella etrama ikkRa	'they are all tall'
83. adu osrama ikRana	'it is tall'
84. inda maro osro	'this tree is tall'
85. anda manuse etru	'that man is tall'
86. anda pra:ṇi etrumanda	'that animal is tall'
87. avo dappu	'that man is fat'
88. ind manuṣe kuruḍu	'this man is blind'
89. ava ja:ṇe	'she is wise'
90. anda payyanukku kivuḍu	'that boy is deaf'
91. anda payye sombeRi	'that boy is lazy'
92. inda na:yi sombeRi	'this dog is lazy'
93. anda paslu ja:ṇe	'that child is clever'
94. anda poṇṇu nalladu	'that girl is a good girl'
95. avo nalla payye	'he is a good boy'
96. nalla sa:ppa:ḍu	'good food'
97. nalla ti:rttu	'good water'
98. hasaru ele	'green leaf'
99. kaRuppu ele	'black leaf'
100. periya ha:ttu	'big house'
101. idu haṭṭu paḷḷi	'this is a bad village'
102. inda kate nalla ikkiRna	'this story is good'
103. inda katege ella nanna ikkiRna	'these stories are all good'
104. enku inda kate iṣṭu	'I like this story'
105. jalu koṇḍa	'bring some water'
106. okko	'sit down'
107. ni:nu okko	'you sit down'
108. na:nu kukkonnu conne	'I asked (him) to sit'
109. neltu mele okku	'sit on the floor'
110. nindko	'stand up'

111. avane nindgonnu conne — 'I asked him to stand up'
112. malla va:s collu — 'speak slowly'
113. ni: konco malla va:s collu — 'you speak slowly'
114. avanuku nida:nama va:s collunnu conne — 'I asked him to speak slowly'
115. muRiccudu — 'break it'
116. ade edukku — 'lift it up'
117. pustko va:pas va:nkino va — 'bring the book back'
118. ha:ttukku po:yittu appoRova: — 'go home and come back later'
119. tebil me:le ninduku — 'stand on the table'
120. tebil me:l ukko — 'sit on the table'
121. na:yi inge anda — 'the dog is here'
122. pustko tebil me:l anda — 'the book is on the table'
123. a:ka:so me:le anda — 'the sky is above'
124. maro Ro:dku andakade ikkiRna — 'the tree is on the other side of the road'
125. na:n marattu kitte ikkiRe — 'I am near the tree'
126. na:n marattunna du:ra ikkiRe — 'I am far from the tree'
127. avo marattunna du:re ikRanu — 'he is away from the tree'
128. avo bettattu mele pono — 'he went up the hill'
129. avo bettattunna ki:le vando — 'he came down from the hill'
130. na:n ki:l vilundutte — 'I fell down'
131. ende ka:l ja: Ruduttu apRo ki:l vilundutte — 'my feet slipped and I fell down'
132. adku ella kadevu te:dune — 'I searched for it everywhere'
133. na: kallane pudicce — 'I cuaght the thief'
134. adu engu sikkudilla — 'I found it nowhere'
135. avalkku engu sikkudilla — 'she found it nowhere'
136. rendpe:ru ulle va:rungo — 'both of you come inside'
137. poRembe po:ngo — 'go out'
138. avane poRembe po:nnu conne — 'I asked him to go out'
139. gini pancarattule ikkiRna — 'the parrot is in the cage'
140. gini marattumele ikkiRna — 'the parrot is on the tree'

141. anda giṇi iṅge ikkiRna	'that parrot is here'
142. paṭṣi gu:ḍu me:le ikkiRna	'that bird is on the nest'
143. maro gaṭṭiya ikkiRna	'the wood is hard'
144. idu periya ele	'this is a large leaf'
145. paḷu hasara ikkiRna	'the fruit is green'
146. pu:vu covappa ikkiRna	'the flower is red'
147. reṇḍu cin pu:vu	'two small flowers'
148. koḷak kayyi	'dirty hand'
149. na:n nettekku vande	'I came yesterday'
150. ka:ryo te:ḍRadukku orutta po:kaṇu	'one should go to find a job'
151. avane pe:r puḍicci ku:ḍu	'call him by name'
152. puḷlu pikki	'remove the grass'
153. na:nu na:ḷikku paḷḷikku po:Re	'tomorrow I should go to the village'
154. ni:ṅga reṇḍu pe:ru ka:ryo paṇṇuṅgo	'both of you do the work'
155. ni:ṅga rendu pe:ru ti:rto sa:pduṅgo	'you both drink water'
156. ni:ṅga ella oṭṭa avanukku aḍikkiṅgo	'you all together beat him'
157. avaḷella po:kaṇumairundu annakka ava po:kaville	'those ladies had to go but they did not go'
158. na:n na:ḷekku vardille	'I shall not come tomorrow'
159. avan and ka:ryo paṇṇ kuḍadu	'he should not do that work'
160. avo and paṭṣiye konnuṭṭa ne:ttikku	'he killed that bird yesterday'
161. na:nu varaṇu	'I want to come'
162. avanukku ka:su veṇu	'he wants money'
163. enakku vardukku iṣṭu	'I would like to come'
164. ya:ru eṇḍe jotele variṅgo	'who will come with me?'
165. eṇḍe tambi vaRanu	'my brother will come'
166. eppo poRa	'when are you going'
167. na:ṅge na:ḷekku poRo	'we shall go tomorrow'
168. avo ne:ttekku vandinda apRo paṭpoyiṭṭo	'he came yesterday and went away'
169. entukku poRa	'why are you going'

170. avo vanda:kku na: po:Re	'I shall go if he comes'
171. enna conna	'what did you say'
172. onye va:nnu ku:ṭṭe	'I told you to come'
173. avo vandindu naldacci	'it is good that he came'
174. na: oṇṇu colville	'I said nothing'
175. avo ya:ru	'who is he'
176. avo eṅgonnu vandikRanu?	'he has come from where?'
177. ippo vandirundaḷa ava:ḷella ya:ru	'who are these people'
178. adu ya:ruḍe na:yi	'whose dog is that'
179. adu eṇḍedu	'that is mine'
180. adu oṇḍedu	'that is yours'
181. adu avoṇḍedu	'that is his'
182. anda kudureya ma:RuttikkiRna	'that horse is to be sold'
183. eṇḍe kayle idu paṇRatukka:kale	'I cannot do this'
184. ava enneye ke:kRa	'they ask me'
185. eṇḍekiṭṭe oṇṇu ille	'I have nothing with me'
186. na: onneya oRumeya vuḍuRadille	'I will not leave you alone'
187. onkku adu paṇRadukkaRada?	'can you do it?'
188. avanukku paṇRadukka:kale	'he cannot do it'
189. ellaru aṅge pona	'everyone went there'
190. ni: ku:ṭṭinda ella vandinda	'all those called have come'
191. na:n kaḍele vande	'I came last'
192. avo periya puḷḷe	'he is the eldest son'
193. ippa ra:ttri	'it is night'
194. ni: eṅge ikRa?	'where do you live?'
195. na: ikRene anda ha:ttu romba perisu	'the house which I live is big'
196. ava ella varaṭṭu	'let them all come'
197. ni: iṅge ikkuḍadu	'you must not be here'
198. poy colla veṇḍa	'do not tell lies'
199. adannu idu	''not that one but this'

200. iduṭṭuṭṭu ve:Re edanu kuḍu	'besides this give something else'
201. eṅku innu ve:ṇu	'I want some more'
202. avaḷukku idu veṇḍamanakka eṅkuḍu	'if she does not want give it to me'
203. tu:ṅkRadukku ittane ve:ko po:kaveṇḍa	'do not go to bed so soon'
204. onakku avanukku enna sammandu?	'what is your relationship with him?'
205. avo pustako eḷdikkirukkanu	'he is writing a book'
206. ni: ettan kuḍukkiriyo attan vaṅkikre	'I shall take whatever you give'
207. va:sal po:ḍu	'close the door'
208. na: onye modal pa:ttukville	'I have never seen you before'
209. onku ha:ttu illeya?	'don't you have a house?'
210. ni:ṅga ya:ra:nu orutte po:yiṭṭu vaṅcinnu va:ruṅgo	'let one of you go and bring'
211. ya:r ippuḍuttu manuṣanukku ka:su koḍukRa?	'who will give money to a man like this?'
212. oṇḍe ka:ryo entukku pu:rti muḍiccillie?	'why you have left your work half done?'
213. oṅku enna ve:ṇmo appaḍi paṇṇikka	'do whatever you like'
214. na:ṅge inda rastale vando	'we came by this road'
215. na: aṅg po:ne	'I went there'
216. na: eṇḍe ha:ttukku po:yinde	'I had gone to my house'
217. ava avaḷḍe ha:ttukku poyiṭṭirukRa	'she had gone to her house'
218. ava na:n po:Ratukku modale po:yiṭṭinda	'they had gone before I went'
219. na:n pu:rtti na:ḷ tu:ṅkiṇḍinde	'I was sleeping all the day'
220. ippo na:n tu:ṅkiṇḍikkre	'now I am sleeping'
221. na: po:nappo avo tu:ṅkiṇḍindo	'he was sleeping when I went'
222. avo va:sickinnu ikkiRanu	'he is reading'
223. na: po:Ratukku modale avo po:yiṭṭikRanu ka:ṇRana	'it seems he might have gone before I went'
224. avo va:sciṇḍakka avo pa:sa:yirukkindu	'if he had studied he would have passed'
225. anda train lateayindakka engaḷku ate puṭikRatukku ahuna	'if the train is late we may catch it'
226. avo ha:ttuna poRande vanduṭṭu	'he came out of the house'

227. pRiṇṭ a:yikRa pustku va:sikRadu sulbu	'printed books are easy to read'
228. ettan du:ro ni: vaRa	'how far you will come'
229. na: eṇḍe u:reye ennekku viṭṭekkille	'I never left my native town till now'
230. na: eṇḍe u:reye iṇṇekkutaṅga viṭṭekkille	'I never left my native town till now'
231. na: po:Rtukku modle ni: po:kaveṇḍa	'do not go before I go'
232. ippo romba le:ṭṭu avo ippo vardille	'it is late he will not come'
233. ni: ettane ettru ikRa	'how tall you have grown'
234. koñcu pudusu koñcu paḷasu	'some are new some are old'
235. avoṇḍ tambi romba oṇṇu ja:ṇe annu	'his brother is not so clever'
236. onku enna ve:ṇu	'what you want'
237. ka:rtale karyo paṇṇu ra:tri tuṅkiko	'work in the day and sleep at night'
238. oru ma:sattle muppadu na:ḷ ikkiRna	'a month has thirty days'
239. pakṣikaḷukku rekke ikkiRna	'the birds have wings'
240. na: oṇḍe jotekku ka:ryattukku varRe	'I will go with you to work'
241. eṇḍe munnu ninduko veṇḍa	'don't stand in front of me'
242. anda na:yi eṇḍa pinne vantu	'that dog came behind me'
243. anda ṭrainu ṭaimukku seriya vandukiṇḍu ille	'that train is not running on time'
244. paṭṣi eṇḍe tale me:l ha:Rittu	'the bird flew over my head'
245. avo eṇḍe ma:dri ka:ṇḍRanu	'he looks like me'
246. avo eṇḍe ha:ttukiṭṭe ikRanu	'he stays near my house'
247. avo eṇḍe ki:ḷe ka:ryo paṇRanu	'he works under me'
248. ni:vartaṅga na:nu iṅge ikRe	'I stay here until you come'
249. anda ka:ryo iṇṇetanga paṇṇikkaville	'that work was not done till today'
250. avo anda ba:le anda kayle etta du:ro a:rado attan du:ro bisa:ṭṭiṭṭu	'he threw the ball as far away as he could'
251. ni: uḷḷennu entakku vanda	'why did you come from inside'
252. orutto aṅg okkandrukkanu	'one man is sitting down there'
253. beṅkiriṭṭa po:ka veṇḍa	'do not go near the fire'
254. anda duḍḍe va:pas kuḍu, illadirundakka onku aḍi vuḷḍRuna	'return the money, otherwise you will get beating'

255. ende ha:ndalukku pudiya odemeyela vankindu vande	'I have bought new ornaments for my wife'
256. be:ha vandakka adu ennannu pa:kkala	'if you come on time we will examine this'
257. en odambu seriya irundakka na:lekku vare	'if I am well I will come tomorrow'
258. avo indakka-ange sande ikkiRna	'if he is there, there will be a quarrel'
259. ava inda anakka be:ha patpoyitta	'she was there but went away soon'
260. ava ende jotele indakka innu nannayikkirukku	'if they were with me it would have been better'
261. na: inda ha:ttule indo	'we stayed in this house'
262. na:nga inda ha:ttule ikkiRo	'we are staying in this house'
263. ni: enge ikRa?	'where do you stay?'
264. ni: ne:ttekku enge irunda?	'where were you yesterday'
265. avo mundanettikki enge indo?	'where were he the day before yesterday?'
266. ni: na:lekki enge ikRa?	'where you will be tomorrow?'
267. na:nu anju manikku endunde	'I woke up at 5 O'clock'
268. onku enda train sikkiRna	'which train will you get'
269. epidinnakku ni: varanu	'anyhow you must come'
270. na: ka:ryo panRadille	'I do not work'
271. ava ka:ryo panRadille	'she does not work'
272. ava innekku ka:ryo panRadille	'she will not work today'
273. ava ka:ryattukku po:Rale	'she is not going to work'
274. ava ka:ryo pannanunnu onmeille	'she need not have to work'
275. na:nu inda ka:ryo panville	'I did not do this work'
276. na:nga va:sikunu ikkaville	'we were not reading'
277. na:nga va:sikunu ikRo	'we are reading'
278. na:nga va:sikkiRo	'we will read'
279. avo va:sikkunu indo	'he was reading'
280. avo va:sikkunu ikRano	'he is reading'
281. ava patRa	'she is climbing'
282. ava patkindinda	'she was climbing'

283. ava patRalango	'she will climb'
284. na:n talemelo ukkoledindakka karyo a:gradille	'If I do not sit upon (his head) the work will not be done'
285. na:yi bogilgininda	'the dog is barking'
286. na:lekki inda na:yi bogilrina	'tomorrow this dog will bark'
287. ne:ttekki na:yi bogilkindintu	'yesterday the dog barked'
288. anda ma:mpolu ella na:n sa:ptkindu ikRe	'all those mangoes have been eaten by me'
289. inda ka:ryo na:n panne	'this work was done by me'
290. avo pustako va:sikRanu	'he will read this book'
291. anda pustakatte avo va:sickondu indu	'he was reading that book'
292. anda pustakatte avo va:sikRanu	'he is reading that book'
293. ya:ranu inda ka:ryo pannala	'anybody can do this work'
294. ya:rdakkaylu inda ka:ryo panRadukkakale	'nobody can do this work'
295. na:n railwayile muppitta:Ru varuso ka:ryo panniyirukkiRe	'I have served in the railways for thirtysix years'
296. na:n bread sa:ptukindu ikkiRe	'I am eating bread'
297. ava ma:mpalu sa:ptRa	'they are eating mango'
298. inda ha:ttu na:ne katce	'this house is built by me'
299. na:n pustako kodukRe	'I am giving a book'
300. avalukitta pa:ttu collikRe	'I am making her to sing a song'
301. na:n pa:ttu colRe	'I am singing a song'
302. na:n avalukku conne avonde kittennu pustako va:nkiyannuttu	'I asked her to bring that book from him'
303. anda pullekitte sweet sa:pdacce	'I made the boy to eat sweet'
304. na:nu anda kudureye o:dicce	'I caused the horse to run'
305. avo ancu rupa:y kodutto	'he gave me five rupees'
306. avo ya:rukittevo enku ancu rupa:yi kodukRa:nu	'he is making someone to give five rupees to me'
307. enku anda pustako istu	'I like that book'
308. enku na:lu ha:ttuge inda	'I had four houses'
309. ni: ende ha:ttuku po:	'you go to my house'

310. ende penle eldu	'write with my pen'
311. ende ha:ttu *covapu neRa*	'the colour of my *house* is red'
312. avo ende ha:ttu kitikenna ulnduttu	'he fell down from my house window'
313. schoolunna va:	'come from the school'
314. innekku ka:ryattavelekitta *enmo* kñocu galatte	'today *there was* a trouble with the servant maid'
315. na:lekku karyattavelekitte koñco galatte a:garna	'tomorrow there *will be* some trouble *with* the *servant*'
316. mañgalvarattu ra:ttre basge ella o:da:dadu nilcidtu	'from Tuesday night the busses stopped working'
317. somvara na: vare	'Monday I will come'
318. na: taimukku sariya vartu habittu ikiRda?	'are yoiu in the habit of coming on time?'
319. ni: taimukku sariya entukku varville?	'why you *did not* come on time?'
320. añge endekitte oru sande a:cci	'there was a quarrel with me'
321. endena:le añge oru sande a:cci	'on account of me there was a quarrel there'
322. ka:ttuna:le ha:ttella *vulundu po:cci*	'houses collapsed due to *strong wind*'
323. atna:le rombe janañge cattupo:yitta	'because of that many people died'
324. anda raste etrama:ndu	'that road is high'
325. sanivaro unye *meet* panRe	'Saturday I will meet you'
326. mañgalva:ru unde ha:ttukkuvare	'*Tuesday I can come* to your house'
327. buduva:ru vartukku a:qRada?	'can you come on Wednesday?'
328. avo a:*pi:sanu* vaRa	'he comes from the office'
329. na: *innekku vardille*	'*I am not coming* today'
330. na: *na:lekku* vardille	'I will not come *tomorrow*'
331. adu enditta karyo?	'what kind of work is that?'
332. nakku *inno* koñco venu	'I want some more'
333. onakku en istamo adu pannu	'*do* whatever you *like*'
334. na: onne pa:tte ille	'I have never seen you'
335. na: tinoella tu:ñkikondirunde	'I was sleeping all the day'
336. na: avane pa:rkkacciu ave *neiekku* me:le paduttirunda	'He was lying on the ground when I saw him'

337. na: en u:re eppamu vuṭṭu po:ye ille	'I never left my native town till now'
338. dinatle ka:ryo paṇṇu ra:tri tu:ṅgu	'work in the day and sleep at night'
339. avo en ha:ttaṇḍe iruko	'he stays near my house'
340. anda manṣe innu vandille	'that man has not yet come'
341. avo en tuṇeyil vanda	'he came along with me'
342. na: enakkosaro pudiya shirṭhaḷ vaṅgine	'I bought new shirts for me'

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Numerals

oṇṇu	'one'
reṇḍu	'two'
mu:ṇu	'three'
na:lu	'four'
añci	'five'
a:Ru	'six'
e:ḷu	'seven'
eṭṭu	'eight'
ombidu	'nine'
pattu	'ten'
iruvidu	'twenty'
muppidu	'thirty'
na:Rppidu	'forty'
ambidu	'fifty'
aRuvidu	'sixty'
ayvidu	'seventy'
ombidu	'eighty'
tombidu	'ninety'
nu:Ru	'hundred'
nu:vittoṇṇu	'hundred and one'
nu:vittiraṇḍu	'hundred and two'
nu:vittumu:ṇu	'one hundred and three'
nu:vittuna:lu	'one hundred and four'
nu:vittuañci	'one hundred and five'
nu:vittua:Ru	'one hundred and six'
nu:vittue:ḷu	'one hundred and seven'
nu:vittueṭṭu	'one hundred and eight'
nu:vittombidu	'one hundred and nine'
nu:vittupattu	'one hundred and ten'

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